

THE
OCEAN OF STORY

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No.

THE
BEING
C. H. TAWNEY'S TRANSLATION
OF
SOMADEVA'S KATHĀ SARIT SĀGARA
(OR OCEAN OF STREAMS OF STORY)

NOW EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, FRESH
EXPLANATORY NOTES AND TERMINAL ESSAY

BY

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BURTON," ETC.

IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. I

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.



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THIS EDITION
OF THE
OCEAN OF STORY
IS DEDICATED TO
THE MEMORY OF
CHARLES HENRY TAWNEY
M.A., C.I.E.
AUTHOR AND SCHOLAR

CHARLES HENRY TAWNEY

1837-1922

[*The following account of the life and labours of Mr Tawney has been prepared chiefly from the obituary notices which appeared in "The Times," "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" and "The Calcutta Review."*]]

CHARLES HENRY TAWNEY was the son of the Rev. Richard Tawney, vicar of Willoughby, whose wife was a sister of Dr Bernard, of Clifton. From Rugby, which he entered while the great days of Dr Arnold were still a recent memory, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he greatly distinguished himself. He was Bell University Scholar in 1857, and Davies University Scholar and Scholar of Trinity in the following year. In 1860 he was bracketed Senior Classic and was elected a Fellow of his college.

For the next four years he worked as a Fellow and Tutor at Trinity, but though he had obviously excellent prospects of academical work at home, considerations of health induced him to seek employment in India.

In 1865 he was selected to occupy the Chair of History in the Presidency College, just then vacated by Professor E. Byles Cowell. Mr Tawney filled this Chair with great credit from 1866 to 1872; in the latter year he was appointed Professor of English.

In 1875 he officiated as Principal in the place of Mr James Sutcliffe, and on the latter's death, in the following year, his position as Principal was confirmed. This office he held from 1876 to 1892, with breaks for short periods, during which he either went home on leave or was called upon to officiate as Director of Public Instruction in the then undivided province of Bengal.

He also held the position of Registrar of the Calcutta

University from 1877 to 1881, 1884 to 1885, and again in 1886 and 1889.

He was awarded the C.I.E. in 1888 and retired from the Education service at the end of 1892.

Mr Tawney had a happy familiarity with the literature of his own country, and published in Calcutta (1875) *The English People and their Language, translated from the German of Loth.* His acquaintance with Elizabethan literature was remarkable, while in Shakespearean learning he had no living rival in India. In this connection it is to be regretted that, except for editing *Richard III* (1888), he left no record of his great learning in this particular field of knowledge.

There was little scope in Calcutta for the display of Mr Tawney's knowledge of Latin and Greek, and so almost as soon as he arrived in India he threw himself heart and soul into the mastering of Sanskrit. This he achieved with the greatest credit, as the numerous works which he has left clearly show. His first publications were prose translations of two well-known plays, the *Uttara-rāma-carita* of Bhavabhūti (1874) and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa (1875). In *Two Centuries of Bhartrihari* (1877) he gave a skilful rendering into English verse of two famous collections of ethical and philosophico-religious stanzas. But his *magnum opus*, to which he devoted some later years of his Indian career, was his translation of Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, which was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in their *Bibliotheca Indica* series (two volumes, 1880-1884). Considering the date of the appearance of this great translation it was well annotated by most useful notes drawn from a wide reading in both classical and modern literature. The extreme variety and importance of the work, together with the recent strides made in the study of comparative folklore, religion and anthropology, are the *raison d'être* of the present edition.

The same interests which prompted Mr Tawney to produce his *magnum opus* also led him, during his official life in London, to the study of the rich stores of narrative connected with the Jain doctrine, resulting in his translations of the *Kathākoṣa* (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., ii, 1895)

and Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1899-1901), both works of considerable difficulty and interest. At the same time he was engaged in superintending the preparation and printing of catalogues issued from the India Office Library, the Catalogue of Sanskrit Books by Dr Rost (1897), the Supplement to the Catalogue of European Books (1895), the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. by Professor Eggeling, of Persian MSS. by Professor Ethé, of Hindustani books by Professor Blumhardt (1900), and of Hindi, Punjabi, Pushtu and Sindhi books by the same (1902), of the Royal Society's Collection of Persian and Arabic MSS. by E. D. Ross and E. G. Browne (1902). He was himself joint-author of a catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the last-named collection (1903).

Mr Tawney's services to Sanskrit scholarship were therefore both varied and extensive.

Apart from Sanskrit and European languages, Mr Tawney knew Hindi, Urdu and Persian.

As an Anglo-Indian he was a worthy successor to men like Jones, Wilson and Colebrook. He genuinely loved India through its learning and literature. The great influence that he had upon his Indian students was amazing. It was due, in a large measure, to his elevated moral character, his impartiality, his independence of judgment and his keen desire to do justice to all who came into contact with him.

In this connection it is interesting to read the opinion of one of his old pupils.

At the unveiling of his portrait at the Presidency College, Calcutta, Professor Ganguli speaks of his wonderfully sympathetic nature, and adds: "What struck me most in my master was his utter indifference to popularity, which, unfortunately, in some cases magnifies the artful, and minimises the genuine. I consider him to be an ideal teacher who combined in himself the best of the East and the best of the West, and I look upon him as a never-failing source of inspiration to me."

After his retirement from the Education service at the close of 1892 he was made Librarian of the India Office. He held this post till 1908, when he was superannuated.

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Mr Tawney married in 1867 a daughter of Charles Fox, M.D., and the union extended over fifty-three years, Mrs Tawney dying in 1920. They had a large family.

In concluding this short account of Mr Tawney's life, the following lines from his own translation of Bhartrihari seem especially relevant :—

“ Knowledge is Man's highest beauty,
Knowledge is his hidden treasure,
Chief of earthly blessings, bringing
Calm contentment, fame and pleasure.”

FOREWORD

I HAVE been asked by Mr Penzer to write a Foreword to the first volume of his great work on the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, but when I observe the research that he has bestowed upon it and read the lists of those whose assistance he has secured, I cannot but feel much diffidence in complying with his request. I can, however, take this opportunity of saying what it has long been in my mind to say about the books and papers that this gigantic collection of Indian folk-tales has from time to time called forth. I am also somewhat encouraged to do this by the attitude of Mr Penzer towards his own important efforts, as it is clear that he does not look on them otherwise than as a continuation of the research that has been already devoted to the collections; for despite the exhaustive nature of his Appendix IV to this volume, his last paragraph—the very last of the whole volume—runs thus: “More than this it is impossible to say. Much research still remains to be done on this highly important anthropological problem.” It is in this spirit that I, too, propose to approach the subject of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*—the *Ocean of Story*—and what I am now about to say points to further research being necessary, a proposition Mr Penzer would, I take it, be the last person to controvert.

Nevertheless, I wish to say at once that Mr Penzer’s notes to the text, short and long, and the four fine appendices on folk-lore to this volume—viz. on Mythical Beings, the Use of Collyrium and Kohl, the Cravings of Pregnant Women *motif*, and Sacred Prostitution—fulfil to my mind the purpose for which they are written, and must always be a mine into which students can delve with profit. They are a good augury for the value of the information he has in store for scholars in the volumes that are to follow. Anything that I may remark, therefore, which savours of criticism is said only with the object of assisting the research he has so gallantly and so usefully undertaken to promote.

On page 268 Mr Penzer makes a series of remarks to which I would like to draw attention, as they exhibit the spirit in which his researches have been made, and to my mind they show generally the soundness of his observation and conclusions. At any rate I for one can heartily endorse them. He says, firstly: "I feel that the fact is often overlooked that the origin of a certain custom [speaking for the moment of sacred prostitution] in one part of the world may not necessarily be the same as that of a similar custom in another part of the world." And then he follows up this excellent sentiment by another remark: "We must also remember that the religion, ethics and philosophy of India have been ever changing, and nothing is more inapplicable than to speak of the 'changeless East' in this respect": to this I would like to add, "or in any other respect." Later, on the same page, he says: "Our knowledge of the early Dravidian religion of India before it was 'taken over' by the Aryan invaders is so slight that it is impossible to make any definite statement with regard to the *origin* of any particular custom of ritual or religious observance." Here, however, it seems to me that the researches of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar and others, and of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Mythical Society of Bangalore and other such bodies in India, are leading us to a closer knowledge thereof. Let us hope they will enable us to solve the puzzle, which, after all, it is peculiarly the office of the native of India to solve.

With these preliminary remarks let me start upon my own observations on the subject of Mr Penzer's great work. I judge from the Invocation that Somadeva, the author of the original book, was a Saiva Brāhmaṇ of Kaśmīr. His real name was Soma, *deva* being a mere suffix to the names of Brāhmans, royalties and the like. Mr Penzer shows that he must have composed his verses about A.D. 1070, or about two hundred and fifty years after Vasugupta introduced into Kaśmīr the Saiva form of the Hindu religion peculiar to Kaśmīr, which was subsequently spread widely by his pupil Kallata Bhaṭṭa. Later on, but still one hundred years before Somadeva, it was further spread by Bhāskara, and

then in Somadeva's own time made popular by Abhinava Gupta, the great Saiva writer, and his pupils Kshēmarāja and Yōgarāja. The last three, who must have been Somadeva's contemporaries, were much influenced by the philosophic teaching of another Soma—Somānanda, to give him his full name—who with his pupil Utpalāchārya created the Advaita (Monistic) Saiva Philosophy, known as the Trika, about two hundred years before Somadeva. Other important Kāśmīrī philosophic writers before Somadeva's date were Utpāla Vaishṇava and Rāma-kanṭha.¹ So while Somadeva was composing his distichs for the delectation of Sūryavatī, the Queen of King Ananta of Kaśmīr, at a time when the political situation was "one of discontent, intrigue, bloodshed and despair," it was also—as has often happened in Eastern history—a time of great religious activity. The religion and its philosophy were Aryan in form, meaning by the term "religion" a doctrine claiming to be revealed, and by "philosophy" a doctrine claiming to be reasoned out.

There is plenty of evidence of the Brahmanic nature of the *Kaihā Sarit Sāgara*. Here is a strong instance. The story of the birth and early days of Vararuchi (p. 11 ff.) is not only Indian but also typically Brahmanical. *Inter alia* he exhibits his wonderful memory to Kānabhūti, the Yaksha, turned Piśācha, king of the Vindhya wilds, telling the king how his mother had said to some Brāhmans that "this boy will remember by heart everything that he has once heard." And then he relates that they "recited to me a *Pratiśākhya*," a peculiarly difficult and uninviting grammatical treatise, and that he immediately repeated it back to them. The same class of memory is claimed by Gunāḍhya in his account (p. 75) of how the *Kātantra* or *Kālāpaka* grammar was revealed to him by the god Skanda (Kārttikeya). Now, though the claim put forward by Vararuchi is extravagant, the extraordinary accuracy of memory cultivated by the ancient Brāhmaṇ and Bardic classes in India still exists, and has been taken advantage of by Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George

¹ See J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Shāivism* (1914); Grierson and Barnett, *Lallā-vākyāni* (1920), and a forthcoming work on the last by myself, *The Word of Lallā, the Prophetess*, Cambridge University Press (1924).

Grierson in reproducing from word of many mouths the text of the *Lallā-vākyāni* six centuries after the date of the authoress Lal Dēd with an accuracy which the *written* word does not possess. Accurate memory is not a monopoly of the Brāhmans and Bards of India, but it is no doubt specifically characteristic of them.

The point of the Brahmanic character of Somadēva's collection of tales is of importance to the present argument. The author of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* is a Brāhman, and he gives the work a Brahmanic—*i.e.* an Aryan—form,¹ giving rise, *prīmā facie*, to the assumption that the origin of the tales is to be sought in the land whence the Aryans came, somewhere to the west of India proper. But it is clear that the author purported to make a general collection of tales current in India about A.D. 1000, or rather he claims to have made a selection, as did his contemporary Kāśmīrī Brāhman Kshemendra in his *Brihat Kathā Mañjari* out of a much older, but now lost, work, Gunādhya's *Brihat Kathā* or *Great Tale*. This general collection contains to my mind certain tales, customs and folk-lore which do not appear to be Aryan in origin. The writer or his original has in fact drawn on popular Indian folk-lore, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, connecting his tales by rather simple literary devices, so that they are all made to run together as parts of one general story.

The Aryan invasions of India were spread over a long period and the progress about the country was very slow. The Aryans came across at least one race, the Dravidians, equal to themselves in mental capacity, and across many others whose minds they could more or less easily dominate. Neither the Dravidians nor the others were of their form of civilisation and traditions, but they all mingled with them in some degree or other, at any rate to the extent of social contact, generally as master and servant. The consequent

¹ I take the story of *The Chanter of the Sāma Veda and the Courtesan* (pp. 64-65) as good-natured chaff, showing how a learned Brāhman can be a fool in the ways of the world, the Chanter of the Sāma Veda being a species of our old friend Verdant Green of Oxford,

development was on the recognised lines of evolution as far as the author of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* and his hearers were concerned. That is to say, it was fundamentally Aryan, with accretions from every race with which the Aryans had come in close contact for, say, three thousand years by Soma-deva's time. These races were Dravidians, "Kolarians" or, shall we say, "aborigines," and people across the Northern and Eastern frontiers—all very different in origin from the Aryans. They all carried their religions, folk-tales and folklore with them, and cannot but have infected the indigenous corresponding nations of the Aryans of India with alien ideas and folk-tales.

Here then it seems that we have a line, as it were, given us for research: whence did the various non-Aryan tales and ideas come? It is not an easy line to follow, as the period is so late and the whole matter by that time already so complicated. Suppose a custom or tale is non-Aryan Indian—*i.e.* Dravidian or "Kolarian"—or Farther Indian (Mon, Shan, Tibeto-Burman) by origin: by Soma-deva's date it had plenty of time to be assimilated and take on an Aryan form. Suppose it to date back before the Aryan irruption into India: its existence in principle now or at some ancient date in Western Asia or Europe would not prove that it arose either in India or in Europe or Western Asia. Suppose research to show a tale or idea to be of general occurrence in India, Asia, Europe, Africa, and even in America and the Pacific Islands: recent works show so much and so ancient communication all the world over as to make one very careful as to asserting origin. Suppose we find a story in Siam, in Indonesia, in Persia, in Europe, in South Africa, as well as in India: it might well have gone thence out of India or gone through or even round India in either direction. To show how this kind of thing can happen I printed in 1901¹ a tale told in the Nicobars in Nicobarese form to a European officer who was a Dane by nationality, Mr A. de Roepstorff, which turned out to be a Norse tale he

¹ Report on the Census of India, Part I, vol. iii ("Andaman and Nicobar Islands"), p. 280.

had himself told the people some years before. Wherever, then, a civilisation or a people travels, there go also folk-lore and custom. Take as an example the recent travel westwards in Europe of the Christmas Tree and the Easter Egg. The whole question is very difficult. Even if we trace a tale or an idea to the *Jātakas*, to the earliest part of the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*, to the oldest *Purāṇas*, to the *Brāhmaṇas*, to the very *Vedas* themselves—that does not make it Indian or Aryan in origin.

However, I do not personally feel inclined to despair. Work like that of Mr Penzer will, I feel sure, if continued seriously, go far to solve the principles of the puzzle—to help to unlock the secret of the actual line that the progress of civilisation has taken in the past. I take it that a tale or idea in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* may be found to be by origin :

1. Aryan, with analogies among Asiatic and European Aryan peoples.
2. Semitic, with analogies in Western Asiatic countries and elsewhere among Semitic peoples.
3. Asiatic, with analogies among Mongolian peoples.
4. Non-Aryan Indian with analogies among Dravidian, “Kolarian,” Farther Indian or other Indian peoples.
5. General, with analogies spread widely over the world perhaps from an ascertainable source.
6. A merely literary invention of Indian Aryans, such as the origin of the town name Pāṭaliputra, or of the personal name of Guṇāḍhya, Mālyavān and other celebrities of old. Folk etymology of that kind has never died down in India, as the (Revenue) *Settlement Reports* of the middle nineteenth century show—e.g. one such *Report* soberly stated that “the Malee (*mālī*, gardener) Caste” had an origin in a river-borne boy foundling of Rājpūt descent, taken over by a low-class woman who mothered him; so he afterwards became known as the *ma lee* (as the *Report* spelt it) or his “mother took him.” It is a case of the old Indian widely and persistently used effort to raise caste status by an etymological legend. It was used in the earliest European days in India when the Malayālam washermen claimed to Barbosa a Nāyar descent,

which an ancestor was said to have forfeited “ by a mistake ” —and there are signs of it in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*.

I must not unduly spin out the Foreword by examining all the stories and ideas in this volume in the light of the above remarks, and I will therefore confine myself to a few instances where further examination may perhaps be usefully undertaken on such evidence as may be available. I will take first those that seem to point to a non-Aryan origin as the most important for the present purpose.

Chapter VIII commences with a remarkable statement (p. 89) : “ In accordance with this request of Guṇāḍhya that heavenly tale consisting of seven stories was told by [King] *The Paiśācha Kāṇabhūti* in his own language, and Guṇāḍhya, *Language* for his part, using the same Paiśācha language, threw them into seven hundred thousand couplets in seven years.” So the claim is that the original of the *Bṛihat Kathā*, the *Great Tale*, was composed in the Paiśācha language. From the *Great Tale* came Kshemendra’s *Bṛihat Kathā Mañjari* and Guṇāḍhya’s *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*; but the story goes further. Guṇāḍhya’s two pupils, Guṇadēva and Nandidēva, took his *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* to King Sātavāhana (Sālivāhana), who, “ when he heard that Paiśācha language and saw that they had the appearance of Piśachas . . . said with a sneer : ‘ . . . the Paiśācha language is barbarous . . . Away with this Paiśācha tale.’ ” So Guṇāḍhya burnt 600,000 couplets and reserved only 100,000, on which Kshemendra and Somadeva eventually worked. King Sātavāhana obtained possession of the 100,000 couplets which formed the *Bṛihat Kathā* and “ composed the book named *Kathāpiṭha* [Book I of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*] in order to show how the tale came first to be known in Paiśācha language.” Now whether the home of this “ Paiśācha language ” was in the North-Western Panjab or in the Vindhya of Central India, it was not Sanskrit, but something else, and the people speaking it were to the old Indian Aryans a demon race (see Appendix I to this volume, pp. 204 ff.). Are we to understand then from the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* itself that the tales it purports to recapitulate were of foreign origin, at any rate in the majority of cases ? Some are obviously

Aryan, but what of the rest? Presently we shall see that probably neither Guṇādhya himself nor Kāṇabhūti, from whom Guṇādhya is said to have obtained his tales, were Aryans.

The frequent mention of the *gāndharva* form of marriage amongst people not only of great position, but held in high personal esteem, seems to be a result of a ruling class passing into a foreign country. There are several instances in this volume of *gāndharva* marriage, from which I select the following :—

1. Page 61.—A Nāga prince, Kirtisena, marries a Brāhmaṇ girl, Śrutārthā, clandestinely, and her son is Guṇādhya himself, who is “of the Brāhmaṇ caste.”

2. Page 83.—Devadatta, a Brāhmaṇ, with the intervention of Siva himself, marries Śrī, daughter of King Suśarman of Pratisthāna (in the Deccan), secretly by a trick on her father.

3. Page 116.—Śridatta, a fighting Mālava Brāhmaṇ of Pāṭaliputra, marries secretly Sundarī, daughter of a Sāvara (wild tribe) chief, whom he first deserts and then receives back, having already a princess, Mṛigānkavatī, for wife, married apparently irregularly, whom he again seemingly marries regularly.

It will be observed that Guṇādhya, the author of the *Bṛihat Kathā*, is thus said to be himself by birth a Nāga-Brāhmaṇ half-breed. If so, he could imbibe quite as many non-Aryan as Aryan folk-tales and ideas in his childhood. The case may be put even more strongly. It is possible that the story in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* has arisen on the same principle as that of the *mālī* already mentioned, and goes to cover the fact that Guṇādhya was not a Brāhmaṇ, nor even an Aryan, and it was inconvenient for the Brāhmans of Somadeva’s date to allow that anyone but one of themselves had originally collected the *Great Tale*.

But apart from such general inferences, the point of stories like the above appears to be that in the earlier Aryan days in India illicit unions between Aryans and non-Aryans among classes of consequence, which for reasons of policy could not be set aside, were recognised as regular, and that

when the girl brought forth a son the marriage of the parents was assumed, the convenient fiction of supernatural Gandharvas as witnesses being brought into play. The *gāndharva* marriage was undoubtedly recognised, but it was seemingly never considered reputable. Was the custom, however, Aryan or non-Aryan in its origin? The story of the Founding of the City of Pāṭaliputra (Patna) seems to give it a non-Aryan origin (p. 18 *ff.*). Putraka, a Brāhmaṇa prince of Southern Indian descent (the geography is, however, vague), marries "Pāṭalī, the daughter of the king," secretly, and their intrigue is discovered by a woman appointed (p. 23) "to watch secretly the seraglio at night." She, finding the prince asleep, "made a mark with red lac upon his garment to facilitate his recognition." Upon discovery Putraka then flies off magically with Pāṭalī through the air to the banks of the Ganges and founds Pāṭaliputra. A not uncommon method of discovering an intrigue between a man and a maid among the Andamanese is for the elders to paint the man with red or grey matter on a ceremonial pretext and to await the result on the following morning. If the girl shows signs of the paint the pair are formally married. The story in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* infers the existence of some similar custom in ancient India. Was it Aryan or non-Aryan?

On page 5 of this volume Siva is found talking to Pārvatī, his mountain Himālayan bride, of what happened to themselves in a former life, and tells her that because he wore *The Necklace* "a necklace of skulls" he was kept away from *of Skulls* her father's sacrifice. The whole context is also remarkable, as it seems to deal with the rise of Siva as the Supreme out of the early Vedic gods. As I understand the situation, Siva was originally a local Himālayan god, who, with Vishṇu, gradually became a chief among the whole Hindu pantheon. This would assume that he was a non-Aryan deity who grew into prominence—and *he wore a necklace of skulls*. Why? Was this a non-Aryan aboriginal notion? Among the Andamanese, who may be taken to be among the most untouched aborigines in existence, it is still the custom to wear skulls of deceased relatives. At page 182

of A. R. Brown's *Andaman Islanders*, Plate XVIII, there is a figure of a girl wearing her sister's skull. Similar figures have been published by E. H. Man and M. V. Portman. At pages 292 and 293 of his work Brown explains the custom as part of his general Philosophy of Social Values: they are to him "visible and wearable signs of past dangers overcome through protective action of the Society itself and are therefore a guarantee of similar protection in the future." Without in any way endorsing an explanation of savage customs which bids fair to disturb past efforts in that direction, I would suggest that it is worth while making a detailed investigation of the story of Siva and his necklace of skulls, on the ground that we may have here something definitely non-Aryan in Indian hagiology.

This idea is strengthened on considering a passage on page 146. Lohajangha, a Brāhmaṇa, plays a trick upon a bawd, but in the course of it he says to a courtesan, Rūpiṇikā, her daughter: "Thy mother is a wicked woman, it would not be fitting to take her openly to paradise; but on the morning of the eleventh day the door of heaven is opened, and many of the Gaṇas, Siva's companions, enter into it before anyone else is admitted. Among them I will introduce this mother of thine, if she assume their appearance. So shave her head with a razor, in such a manner that five locks shall be left, put a necklace of skulls round her neck, and stripping off her clothes, paint one side of her body with lamp-black and the other with red lead, for when she has in this way been made to resemble a Gaṇa, I shall find it an easy matter to get her into heaven." The Gaṇas were (p. 202) superhuman attendants on Siva and Pārvatī under Gaṇeśa and Nandi (Siva's Bull or Vehicle). The passage presumes that they wore a necklace of skulls, went naked, partially shaved their heads and painted their bodies with lamp-black and red lead. Here, again, we are strongly reminded of Andamanese customs. Is it possible that the Gaṇas refer back to an actual savage non-Aryan tribe of very ancient India whose deities were the prototypes of Siva and Pārvatī?

Here is another instance of apparent non-Aryanism. King Chandamahāsena (p. 133) "had made a large artificial

elephant like his own, and after filling it with concealed warriors he placed it in the Vindhya forest." Mr Penzer in a footnote remarks that "the introduction into a city of Martaban Jars armed men hidden in jars is found in an Egyptian papyrus of the twentieth dynasty," and he refers also to the tale of Ali Baba. In Burma there are still made very large jars of glazed pottery called Pegu or Martaban*(Mortivan) jars for storage purposes, quite large enough to hide human beings in, and there are many stories of their use for such a purpose. There was an old and considerable trade in them Eastwards and Westwards, and their existence would well account for such a story as that of Ali Baba and his Forty Thieves, and to give use to similar tales in India, which would then be non-Aryan in origin.¹

In some instances whether the origin of one class of Somadeva's tales is Aryan or not appears to be very doubtful, though prolonged research may still reveal the real source.

Such are the stories of the Wandering Soul, and of the External Soul or Life-index or Life-token, which are common in Indian folk-tales, and are all found in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*—e.g. (pp. 37-38) : "Indradatta, who was an adept in magic, said : 'I will enter the body of this dead [Nanda] king,' " while "Vyādi remained in an empty temple to guard the body of Indradatta." But (p. 39) "the body of Indradatta was burned after Vyādi had been hustled out of the temple." Mr Penzer has excellent notes on these ideas, and it is difficult at present to conjecture whether they indicate an Aryan or a non-Aryan origin. Later on in the volume *Chāndamahāsena* of Ujjayinī slays the Daitya (demon) Angāraka by (p. 127) smiting "him with an arrow in that hand which was his vital part." Here, again, are we in the presence of Aryan or non-Aryan tradition?

Once again, Mr Penzer has a story and a valuable note on page 80 ff. on the wide spread of sign-language, commenting on the statement that the maiden Śrī, daughter of the king, made Devadatta a sign. She "took with her

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 364, and vol. xxxiii, p. 159.

teeth a flower and threw it down to him," which act his preceptor explained to him meant that he was "to go to this temple rich in flowers, called Pushpadanta, and wait there." Here the wide distribution of the idea *Sign-language* conveyed in the use of Sign-language makes it difficult to suggest either an Aryan or a non-Aryan origin for it.

Yet, again, the form of the superhuman bird, Garuḍa (p. 141) and of its exploits is so Indian that one is loath to give it any but an Indian Aryan origin, but the nature of its *The Garuda Bird* spread is such that for the present, at any rate, it seems impossible to say whence it came, in or out of India. The same may be said about the idea of *Meta-Metamorphosis* morphosis by means of a charm (pp. 136-137), in order to forward the objects of the hero or the actors in a tale, about which a long book could be well written!

Also the notions about the Longings of Pregnancy and the Blood Covenant in their various aspects are *Longings of Pregnancy and the Blood Covenant* so widely spread over the world that it seems as yet difficult to assert that they originated in India and migrated outwards.

So, too, the spread of making Phallic Cakes and the like at festivals is such that it seems quite as likely that the custom *Phallic Cakes* originally arose in Europe as in India. The same remark applies to Circumambulation at Hindu weddings with the object of reverence at the right hand. *Circumambulation* Mr Penzer's elaborate note (p. 190 ff.) referring to the marriage of Vāsavadattā to the King of Vatsa (p. 184) seems to make the idea quite as old in Europe as in India or the East generally.

Lastly, in the course of the story of the founding of Pāṭaliputra (p. 22) occurs the incident of a pair of shoes which give "the power of flying through the air," and of a *Magical Articles* staff with which whatever is written "turns out to be true." On this Mr Penzer has (pp. 25-29) a long and valuable note: the "Magical Articles Motif in Folk-lore." He thinks that "there is no doubt that it did travel from the East." But he hesitates as to this opinion

and finally he says (p. 29) : " It seems very probable that the incident of the fight over the magical articles was directly derived from the East, while the idea of the magical articles themselves was, in some form or other, already established in Western *Marchen*." Does this account for its world-wide existence ? May it not be that the idea of a magical article is non-Aryan and the particular uses to which it is put, in the folk-tales so far collected, are Aryan in origin ? But even if they are the uses would not necessarily have arisen in India. There are clearly many questions yet to answer here, far as Mr Penzer has driven his probe into the mystery.

In one instance of a common folk-tale *motif* or incident¹ we seem to be on the border-line between Aryan and non-Aryan. At page 32 we have a version of the Entrapped *The En-trapped Suitor*, where a woman holds up an illicit gallant *Suitor* to ridicule. In dealing with this tale and its concomitants, the Test of Chastity, the Faith Token and the Act of Truth, Mr Penzer in a long note states that it is to be found throughout both Asia and Europe, and he considers that " it forms without doubt an example of a migratory tale," and is of opinion that " the original form of the story, and origin of all others, is that in the *Ocean of Story*" (p. 42). That is to say, it is Indian and migrated from India outwards. If Indian, is it, then, Aryan or non-Aryan ?

This type of story in all its forms occurs in the volume at page 32 and in the stories of Devasmitā, Siddhikharī and Saktimati (p. 153 ff.), and Mr Penzer has some illuminating *The Laughing Fish*, *The Gift of Half a Life*, *The Letter of Death* special notes thereon (pp. 165-171). But some of his parallels in Europe and Western Asia are very old, and if the idea at the root of them all is Indian it must be very old also—much older than the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* as we have it. Something of the same kind can be said of the stories of the Laughing Fish (pp. 46-47) and the Gift of Half one's own Life (p. 188), and with even more force regarding the Letter of Death (p. 52), widely known in Europe also.

¹ See Mr Penzer's note (p. 29) on the use of the term *motif* for the incident, theme, trait of a story.

At page 84 is the well-known tale of King Sivi offering his flesh and finally all his body to protect a dove which had flown to him for shelter. This is believed to be Buddhistic *The Pound of Flesh* in origin, but the idea is very old both in the East and in Europe, where it turns up in many forms, and in Shakespeare's well-known borrowed tale of the Pound of Flesh. It is difficult to believe that it originated in India on the evidence at present available. The same comment is applicable to the story of *The Enfant Terrible : The Bālavinashṭaka*, the Enfant Terrible at page 185, *Wishing Tree* and to the Wishing Tree of Paradise, which is of Paradise said (p. 144) to exist in Lankā, clearly from the context (p. 144) meaning Ceylon, of which the Rākshasa (non-Aryan) Vibishāṇa was king. The whole story is interesting as it introduces the great Garuda bird and the Bālakhilyas, Elves engaged in austerities, as well as the Wishing Tree, the whole of which, the great bird, the elves and the tree, are world-wide in the East and Europe.

On the other hand, of ideas and customs which seem to be of Indian Aryan origin, and if found elsewhere to be *prima facie* attributable to an Indian derivation, I may mention *Murder to procure a Son* nostrums for procuring the birth of a son. The story of Devasmitā starts with a request from a merchant to some Brāhmans to procure him a son, which they do by means of ceremonies, and to "give an instance" a story is told of an "old-time king" who at a Brāhmaṇ suggestion, without demur kills his only son, over whom he had made a tremendous fuss because the child had been stung by an ant. Nostrums for procuring sons are peculiarly Indian, because of the Hindu's necessity for an heir to perform his funeral rites in a manner that will secure him "salvation." Murder of another person's is a nostrum for securing an heir to the present day, as many cases in the Indian law courts show (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvii, p. 386). Various methods and customs for this purpose are very common in Indian folk-lore and seem to be an outcome of the Hindu religion.

I will now wind up this survey of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*

by the presentation of what appear to me, *prima facie*, to be instances of a possible folk-tale migration from Europe into India. At page 136 it is recounted that Yaugandharāyaṇa *Vampire* : set out for Kauśambi via the Vindhya Forest *vētāla* and arrived at "the burning ground of Mahākāla in Ujjayinī, which was densely tenanted by [vētālas, i.e.] vampires." Here we have in thoroughly Indian form a reference to the well-known modern series of tales—the *Baitāl Pachisī*—traced to the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Book XII. But, as Mr Penzer points out in his note on this page, the Indian ideas about the *vētāla* closely resemble those of the Slavs about the vampire. Now, if we are to follow the modern researchers, who trace the Aryan migrations East and West from the South Russian plains, it is quite possible that the original migrants took with them the idea of the vampire—i.e. of the superhuman demoniacal tenant of dead bodies—wherever they or their influence wandered: so that in the *vētāla* we thus have an idea that wandered Eastwards from Southern Russia to India and not the other way round. I may here remark that the likeness of many Slavonic superstitions to those of India cannot but forcibly strike those who study the races of both Russia and India.

Again, in the story of Guṇāḍhya (pp. 76-78) there is a passage worth quoting in full. Kāñabhbūti explains to Guṇāḍhya that Bhūtivarman, a Rākshasa possessed of *Demons and the Night* "heavenly insight" said to him: "'We have no power in the day; wait, and I will tell you at night.' I consented, and when night came on I asked him earnestly the reason why goblins delighted in disporting themselves, as they were doing. Then Bhūtivarman said to me: 'Listen; I will relate what I heard Siva say in a conversation with Brahmā. Rākshasas, Yakshas and Piśāchas have no power in the day, being dazed with the brightness of the sun, therefore they delight in the night. And where the gods are not worshipped, and the Brāhmans, in due form, and where men eat contrary to the holy law, there also they have power. Where there is a man who abstains from flesh, or a virtuous woman, there they do not go. They never attack chaste men, heroes, or men awake.'" Taking all the

words after "they delight in the night" as a Brahmanical addition, the other notions appear to me to be originally European and not Asiatic or Indian, and if the idea is right, the Aryans brought them and their forerunners to India with them in their early wanderings. Research may show the truth. At any rate Mr Penzer's note traces the notions in Ancient Egypt and China.

And here, after only just lifting the fringe of the curtain hiding the mystery, I must cease trespassing on Mr Penzer's good nature and conclude this Foreword, hoping that something useful has been said towards indicating how research can be beneficially conducted in the future, and saying once again how greatly students of folk-lore have reason to be thankful to Mr Penzer for his present efforts.

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE.

MONTREUX, *March 1921*

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INTRODUCTION

THE *Ocean of Story*, or, to give it its full Sanskrit title, the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, is, for its size, the earliest collection of stories extant in the world. Its author, or rather its compiler, was a Brāhmaṇ named Somadeva. Unfortunately we know nothing of him, except what he himself has told us in the short poem at the end of his work, and what we may gather of his ideas and religious beliefs from the work itself.

In the first place let us look at the title he has chosen for his collection. He felt that his great work united in itself all stories, as the ocean does all rivers. Every stream of myth and mystery flowing down from the snowy heights of sacred Himālaya would sooner or later reach the ocean, other streams from other mountains would do likewise, till at last fancy would create an ocean full of stories of every conceivable description—tales of wondrous maidens and their fearless lovers, of kings and cities, of statecraft and intrigue, of magic and spells, of treachery, trickery, murder and war, tales of blood-sucking vampires, devils, goblins and ghouls, stories of animals in fact and fable, and stories too of beggars, ascetics, drunkards, gamblers, prostitutes and bawds.

This is the *Ocean of Story*; this the mirror of Indian imagination that Somadeva has left as a legacy to posterity.

Following out his metaphor he has divided the work into one hundred and twenty-four chapters, called *turangas*—“waves” or “billows”—while a further (and independent) division into eighteen *lambakas*—“surges” or “swells”—was made by Brockhaus, whose text is that used by Tawney.

The whole work contains 22,000 distichs, or *ślokas*, which gives some idea of its immense size. It is nearly twice as long as the Iliad and Odyssey put together.

The short poem of Somadeva already referred to was not included by Brockhaus in his text, but was printed later from MS. material by Bühler. From this it appears that the

name of our author was Soma—*i.e.* Somadeva. He was the son of a virtuous Brāhmaṇa named Rāma. His *magnum opus* was written for the amusement of Sūryavatī, wife of King Ananta of Kashmir, at whose court Somadeva was poet.

The history of Kashmir at this period is one of discontent, intrigue, bloodshed and despair. The story of Ananta's two sons, Kalaśa and Harsha—the worthless degenerate life of the former, the brilliant but ruthless life of the latter, the suicide of Ananta himself and resulting chaos—is all to be read in the *Rāja-tarangiṇī*, or *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*.

This tragic history forms as dark and grim a background for the setting of Somadeva's tales as did the plague of Florence for Boccaccio's *Cento Novelle* nearly three hundred years later.

It is, however, these historical events in the history of Kashmir which help us in determining our author's date with any degree of certainty.

Ananta surrendered his throne in 1063 to his eldest son Kalaśa, only to return to it a few years later. In 1077 he again retired. This time Kalaśa attacked his father openly and seized all his wealth. Ananta killed himself in despair and Sūryavatī threw herself on the funeral pyre. This was in 1081.

It was between the first and second retirements of Ananta from the throne that Somadeva wrote—possibly about 1070. One can almost imagine that these stories were compiled in an effort to take the mind of the unhappy queen off the troubles and trials which so unremittingly beset her and her court.

He tells us that the *Ocean of Story* is not his original work, but is taken from a much larger collection by one Guṇāḍhya, known as the *Bṛihat Kathā*, or *Great Tale*.

The MS. of this *Great Tale* has not been found. In his first book Somadeva gives us the legendary history of it, showing how it was related in turn by Siva, Pushpadanta, Kāṇabhūti, Guṇāḍhya and Sātavāhana; the latter at first rejected it, and in despair Guṇāḍhya began to burn it leaf by leaf—600,000 distichs are thus lost. Sātavāhana reappears

and saves the rest (100,000 couplets), which became known as the *Bṛihat Kathā*. He added to it a *lambaka*, or book, explaining its marvellous history. This book Somadeva retains in full, and it forms about half of our first volume.

The *Ocean of Story* is not the only rendition of the *Great Tale*, for twenty or thirty years previously Kshemendra had written his *Bṛihat Kathā Mañjari*. Compared with Somadeva's work it pales into insignificance, lacking the charm of language, elegance of style, masterly arrangement and metrical skill of the later production. Moreover, Kshemendra's collection is only a third the length of the *Ocean of Story*.

As early as 1871 Professor Bühler (*Indian Antiquary*, p. 302 *et seq.*) proved these two important facts: firstly, that Somadeva and Kshemendra used the same text, and secondly, that they worked entirely independently from one another.

It was, however, many years before this that the *Ocean of Story* became known to European scholars.

In 1824 that great pioneer of Sanskrit learning, Professor H. H. Wilson, gave a summary of the first five chapters (or *lambakas*) in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*. The first edition of the work was undertaken by Professor Brockhaus. In 1839 he issued the first five chapters only, and it was not till 1862 that the remaining thirteen appeared. Both publications formed part of the *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

It was this text which Tawney used for his translation published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1880-1884 (the index not appearing till 1887).

Brockhaus' edition was based primarily on six MSS., though in the second part of the work he apparently had not so many at his disposal. Tawney was not satisfied with several of Brockhaus' readings, and consequently made numerous fresh renderings or suggestions largely taken from MSS. borrowed from the Calcutta College and from three India Office MSS. lent him by Dr Rost.

In 1889 Durgāprasād issued the Bombay edition, printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, which was produced from

Brockhaus' edition and two Bombay MSS. This is the latest text now available and proves the correctness of many of Tawney's readings where he felt the Brockhaus text was in fault.

Although a comparison between these two texts would be instructive, its place is not in a general introduction like this.

The late Professor Speyer of the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam has written in a most authoritative manner on the whole subject, and has made detailed comparisons and criticisms of the text of Brockhaus and that of Durgāprasād. The Bureau de la section des Lettres of the Amsterdam Academy has very kindly given me leave to incorporate this work of Professor Speyer in the present edition of the *Ocean of Story*, which I hope to do in a later volume. It is needless to emphasise the value this addition will have to the student of Sanskrit and philology.

Turning now to the actual contents of the *Ocean of Story*, the general reader will continually recognise stories familiar to him from childhood. The student of Indian literature will find well-known tales from the *Pañchatantra* and the *Mahābhārata*, as well as strange fantastic myths of early *Rig-Veda* days. He will encounter whole series of stories, such as the *Vetālapanchavimśati* or cycle of Demon stories. But apart from this the work contains much original matter, which Somadeva handles with the ease and skill of a master of his art. The appeal of his stories is immediate and lasting, and time has proved incapable of robbing them of their freshness and fascination.

The *Ocean of Story*, therefore, may be regarded as an attempt to present as a single whole the essence of that rich Indian imagination which had found expression in a literature and art stretching back to the days of the intermingling of the Aryan and Dravidian stocks nearly two thousand years before the Christian era.

India is indeed the home of story-telling. It was from here that the Persians learned the art, and passed it on to the Arabians. From the Middle East the tales found their way

to Constantinople and Venice, and finally appeared in the pages of Boccaccio, Chaucer and La Fontaine.

It was not until Benfey wrote his famous introduction to the *Pañchatantra* that we began to realise what a great debt the Western tales owed to the East.

Although it is well known to students of folk-lore, I am still hoping to see the great work of Benfey translated into English and suitably annotated by such a body as the Folk-Lore Society.

When Galland first introduced the *Arabian Nights* into Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century the chief attraction was the originality of the Oriental settings and the strange manners and customs, now for the first time described. It was thought that he had made up the tales himself. In time many of the originals were found and people changed their opinions. Even in Burton's day there still remained a number of Galland's tales of which no text could be traced, although from the very first Burton maintained that such texts *did* exist. The original "Aladdin" was discovered while Burton's edition was actually coming out, and "Ali Baba" was found by Dr D. B. Macdonald as recently as 1908. The influence of the *Arabian Nights* on European *contes populaires* must not be overlooked, nor must its *unde derivator* be forgotten. It is only in quite recent times that the Indian origin of much of the *Alf Layla Wa Layla* has been realised, and the sifting of the different recensions been commenced.

The great advance made in the study of Sanskrit has shown that incidents in stories well known to every European child existed in India over two thousand years ago. This does not *necessarily* mean that the story, or incident in the story, travelled, slowly but surely, from India to the English nursery. The whole question is most fascinating, and I shall have occasion to discuss the migration of some of the tales as they appear; it is particularly interesting to note that some of the early stories from the Egyptian papyri are so similar to tales in the *Ocean of Story* that one is led at once to suspect some connection.

Although I am leaving further discussion on the subject

to the notes and appendices which appear in each of these ten volumes, yet I feel I must mention one factor, which we must not forget—environment. In warm latitudes the temperature has naturally produced a general laxity in the habits of the people, and in Eastern countries the often exaggerated code of hospitality, coupled with the exclusion of women and consequential gatherings of men in the cool of the evenings, has given great impetus to story-telling. So much so, indeed, that it has produced the *Rāwī*, or professional story-teller—an important member of the community unknown in cooler latitudes, where the story-telling is almost entirely confined to the family circle.

Thus the migratory possibilities of tales in the East are far greater than those in the West. Added to this is the antiquity of Eastern civilisation, compared with which that of the West is but of yesterday.

A study of the movements of Asiatic peoples, their early voyages of exploration and trade, their intermarrying, and their extensive commerce in slaves of every nationality will help to show how not only their stories, but also the customs, architecture, religions and languages, became transplanted to foreign soil, where they either thrived and influenced their surroundings, or found their new environment too strong for them.

Thus in this great storehouse of fiction, the *Ocean of Story*, we shall continually come upon tales in the earliest form yet known.

It is here that I intend to trace the literary history of the incident, trait, or *motif* and, by such evidence as I can procure, try to formulate some definite ideas as to its true history. In many cases this will be impossible, in others little more than mere conjecture. Full bibliographical details will be given, so that readers can form their own opinions and draw their own conclusions concerning this most fascinating study.

With regard to the method of transliteration adopted throughout the work, I have followed, as far as possible, the system approved by the International Oriental Congress of 1894. This system is almost identical with that approved

by the Committee on Transliteration appointed by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society in January 1922.

For full tables of the Sanskrit signs and their English equivalents reference should be made to the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, July 1923, pp. 525-531; and January 1924, pp. 171-173. In the case of the long quantity of a vowel, Tawney used an acute accent. This has now been changed to a macron, or horizontal line. It is interesting to mention that Tawney regretted having used the acute accent and specially asked me to change it.

Short vowels have no mark, thus the *i* in Siva should not be pronounced long.

Passing on to the translation itself, I would stress the fact that Tawney was most anxious to convey in his English rendering not only the meaning, but also the atmosphere of the original. In this he has succeeded, and the ancient Hindu environment at once makes itself felt. In a previous work, *Two Centuries of Bhartrihari*, Tawney alludes to this very point. "I am sensible," he says, "that, in the present attempt, I have retained much local colouring. For instance, the idea of worshipping the feet of a god or great man, though it frequently occurs in Indian literature, will undoubtedly move the laughter of Englishmen unacquainted with Sanskrit, especially if they happen to belong to that class of readers who rivet their attention on the accidental and remain blind to the essential. But a certain measure of fidelity to the original, even at the risk of making oneself ridiculous, is better than the studied dishonesty which characterises so many translations of Oriental poets."

Although the *Ocean of Story* doubtless contains phrases, similes, metaphors and constructions which may at first strike the "Englishman unacquainted with Sanskrit" as unusual and exaggerated, yet I feel that as he reads he will find that it is those very "peculiarities" which are slowly creating an un-English, but none the less delightful, atmosphere, and which give the whole work a charm all its own.

In a work of this magnitude it is necessary to say something of the arrangement of the text, the numbering of the

stories, the scope of the fresh annotation and the system of indexing employed.

The text is left entirely as translated by the late Charles Tawney except where certain omissions have been adjusted or more literal renderings added. In one or two cases a short story left out by Tawney has been restored, thus making the work absolutely complete in every detail.

These fresh translations have been made by Dr L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. in the British Museum.

In Volume I no fresh translations have been added except where the text of Durgāprasād seems to be a distinct improvement on that of Brockhaus. In these cases I have simply added a note at the bottom of the page giving the new reading.

The system of numbering the stories requires a detailed explanation. In order that the reader may know exactly what story he is reading and can pick up the thread of a tale long since suspended, each story will have a distinct number. It will be numbered by an Arabic numeral ; while a sub-story will have the addition of a letter, A, B, C, etc., and a sub-sub-story will have the letter repeated. It often happens that a story is broken off three or four times ; each time we return to that main story its special number reappears with it. Thus every tale will be kept separate and facilities for folk-lore reference will be afforded.

Sometimes in a long story numerous incidents occur which cannot be numbered separately. These are shown by side-headings, which can, however, easily be catalogued or referred to by the help of the number of the story in which they occur.

Two considerations other than those mentioned need explanation. There is one main story which runs throughout the entire work, though towards the end it takes a very back seat, especially where a large collection of stories, like the Vikram cycle, appear. This main story is numbered M, without any Arabic numeral.

Secondly, Book I is all introductory. It too has a main story running through it, which I call MI—*i.e.* Main (Intro-

duction). The first story is 1, the first sub-story 1A, the first sub-sub-story 1AA, and so on. There are four stories in MI, so when Book II commences the first story is 5, as the numbering does not start again, but runs straight on. A glance at the Contents pages at the very beginning of this volume will explain exactly what I am trying to convey.

We will now turn to the question of the fresh annotations. So great have been our strides in folk-lore, anthropology and their kindred subjects since Tawney's day, that many of the original notes can be largely supplemented, corrected, or entirely rewritten in the light of recent research. Further, in some cases subjects are touched on that in Victorian days would be passed over in silence, but to-day convention allows a scholarly treatment of them, and does not demand that they "be veiled in the obscurity of a learned tongue."

If notes are of only a few lines they appear at the bottom of the page; if longer, and there are few other notes coming immediately after, the note goes at the bottom of two or three consecutive pages. If, however, the opposite is the case, the note is put separately at the end of the chapter. Thus in some instances there will be two or three notes at the end of a chapter.

Sometimes we light on a subject on which no comprehensive article has been written. Such a note may run to thirty or more pages. This, then, forms an appendix at the end of a volume.

Each note which I have written is initialed by me, so that it will be quite clear which notes are mine and which those of Tawney. Occasionally a note may be written by both Tawney and myself. In these cases his remarks come first, and are separated from mine which follow by a rule, thus : —. In some of these notes recent research may have proved, disproved, or amplified Tawney's original note. It is therefore considered best to give both the original note and the fresh one following it.

It often happens that an old edition of a work quoted by Tawney has been completely superseded by a more recent one. In these cases if the reference is more detailed and up-to-date

in the new edition, the original one is disregarded. English translations of many works can now be quoted which in Tawney's day were only to be found in their original tongues, or in an Italian or German translation.

These fresh references have accordingly been added.

The Terminal Essay and all appendices are entirely fresh, as is also the system of numbering the stories, and the elaborate indexing.

At the end of each volume are two indices. The first contains all Sanskrit words and names, also proper names of peoples, towns, etc., in any language. The second, and by far the larger of the two, is the General Index. Important references may be cross-indexed six times. Nothing of the least possible importance is omitted: every note, appendix and every portion of the text is fully indexed.

If space permits I shall include a volume containing the two accumulated indices of the entire work, together with a list of authors, a bibliography of the *Ocean of Story* itself, and a list of all the stories in alphabetical order.

In conclusion I would like to acknowledge the help I have received from so many private individuals and learned institutions. In the first place I would particularly mention those gentlemen who have read through my proofs, or some particular portion of them, and given me most valuable advice: Sir Richard Temple, Dr L. D. Barnett, Professor R. L. Turner, Mr C. Fenton (who has also drawn my attention to important Central American analogies) and Sir Aurel Stein; while Mr R. Campbell Thompson has criticised my Babylonian and Assyrian notes, and Sir Wallis Budge, Dr H. R. Hall, and Professor G. Eliot Smith have helped me in points connected with Egyptology.

As the list of correspondents giving information increases nearly every day, it is impossible to include them all in this first volume. I would, however, particularly mention Mr J. Allen, Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Mr F. H. Brown, Mr A. G. Ellis, Mr R. E. Enthoven, Dr Lionel Giles, Mr T. A. Joyce, Mr W. G. Partington, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, Mr Robert Sewell, Dr F. W. Thomas and Mr Edgar Thurston.

Of the following institutions and learned societies I would thank the librarians and their assistants for the valuable help they have given and kindness they have always shown :—the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Geographical Society, the Geological Society, the Folk-Lore Society, the India Office Library, School of Oriental Studies Library, the British Museum Library, the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons, the Wellcombe Medical Museum, the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, and finally I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for their permission to use the original edition of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*.

THE
OCEAN OF STORY

BOOK I: KATHĀPĪTHA.

CHAPTER I

INVOCATION¹

MAY the dark neck of Siva,² which the God of Love³ has, so to speak, surrounded with nooses in the form of the alluring looks of Pārvatī reclining on his bosom, assign to you prosperity.

May that Victor of Obstacles,⁴ who, after sweeping away the stars with his trunk in the delirious joy of the evening dance, seems to create others with the spray issuing from his hissing⁵ mouth, protect you.

After worshipping the Goddess of Speech, the lamp that illuminates countless objects,⁶ I compose this collection which contains the pith of the Brihat-Kathā.

¹ Compare with the introduction to *The Thousand Nights and a Night*, where Allah, Mohammed and his family are invoked.—N.M.P.

² His neck is dark because at the Churning of the Ocean poison came up and was swallowed by Śiva to save creation from disaster. The poison was held in his throat, hence he is called Nilakanṭha (the blue-throated one). For the various accounts of the Churning of the Ocean see *Mahābhārata*, trans. by P. C. Roy, new edition, 1919, etc., Calcutta, vol. i, part i, pp. 55-57 (Book I, Sects. XVII, XVIII); *Rāmāyaṇa*, trans. by Carey and Marshman, Serampore, 1806, vol. 1, p. 41 *et seq.* (Book I, Sect. XXXVI); *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, vol. i, H. H. Wilson's *Collected Works*, 1864, p. 142 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

³ *I.c.* Kāma, who here is simply the Hindu Cupid.—N.M.P.

⁴ Dr Brockhaus explains this of Ganeśa: he is often associated with Śiva in the dance. So the poet invokes two gods, Śiva and Ganeśa, and one goddess, Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech and learning.—It is in his form as Vināyaka, or Vighnēśa, that Ganeśa is the “Victor” or, better, “Remover of Obstacles.”—N.M.P.

⁵ *Śikāra*: a sound made by drawing in the breath, expressive of pleasure.

⁶ There is a double meaning: *padārtha* also means words and their meanings.

SUMMARY OF THE WORK

The first book in my collection is called Kāthapīṭha, then comes Kathāmukha, then the third book named Lāvānakā, then follows Naravāhanadattajanana, and then the book called Chaturdārikā, and then Madanamanchukā, then the seventh book named Ratnaprabhā, and then the eighth book named Sūryaprabhā, then Alankāravatī, then Saktiyaśas, and then the eleventh book called Velā, then comes Saśānkavatī, and then Madirāvatī, then comes the book called Pancha, followed by Mahābhisheka, and then Suratamanjari, then Padmāvatī, and then will follow the eighteenth book Vishamaśila.

This book is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken, there is not even the slightest deviation, only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work ; the observance of propriety and natural connection, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are as far as possible kept in view : I have not made this attempt through a desire of a reputation for ingenuity, but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales.

INTRODUCTION

[**MI**¹] There is a mountain celebrated under the name of Himavat,² haunted by Kinnaras, Gandharvas, and Vidyā-dharas,³ a very monarch of mighty hills, whose glory has attained such an eminence among mountains that Bhavāni,

¹ For explanation of the system of numbering the stories adopted throughout the work see my Introduction, pp. xxxviii and xxxix.—N.M.P.

² This is another form of Himālaya, “the abode of snow.” Himagiri, Himādri, Himakūta, etc., are also found. The Greeks converted the name into Emodos and Imaos. Mt Kailāsa (the modern Kailās) is the highest peak of that portion of the Tibetan Himālayas lying to the north of Lake Mānasarowar. It is supposed to resemble a *linga* in shape, thus being an appropriate dwelling-place for Śiva and Pārvati, who, as we see, appear under a variety of names. It is naturally a very sacred spot, and one to which numerous pilgrimages are made.—N.M.P.

³ For details of these mythical beings see Appendix I at the end of this volume, pp. 197-207.—N.M.P.

the mother of the three worlds, deigned to become his daughter; the northernmost summit thereof is a great peak named Kailāsa, which towers many thousand *yojanas* in the *The Abode* air,¹ and, as it were, laughs forth with its snowy of Śiva gleams this boast: "Mount Mandara² did not become white as mortar even when the ocean was churned with it, but I have become such without an effort." There dwells Maheśvara the beloved of Pārvatī, the chief of things animate and inanimate, attended upon by Gaṇas, Vidyā-dharas and Siddhas.³ In the upstanding yellow tufts of his matted hair the new moon enjoys the delight of touching the eastern mountain yellow in the evening twilight. When he drove his trident into the heart of Andhaka, the King of the Asuras,⁴ though he was only one, the dart which that monarch had infixed in the heart of the three worlds was, strange to say, extracted. The image of his toe-nails being reflected in the crest-jewels of the gods and Asuras made them seem as if they had been presented with half moons by his favour.⁴ Once on a time that lord, the husband of Pārvatī, was gratified with praises by his wife, having gained confidence as she sat in secret with him; the moon-crested one, attentive to her praise and delighted, placed her on his lap, and said: "What can I do to please thee?" Then the daughter of the mountain spake: "My lord, if thou art satisfied with me, then tell me some delightful story that is quite new." And Siva said to her: "What can there be in

¹ Possibly the meaning is that the mountain covers many thousand *yojanas*.—Either would be applicable (allowing, of course, for the usual Oriental exaggeration), for Kailāsa is 22,300 feet high and pilgrims take three weeks to circumambulate the base, prostrating themselves all the way. It is hard to say what distance a *yojana* represents. It is variously given as equal to four *krosas* (*i.e.* nine miles), eighteen miles and two and a half miles. For references see Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, vol. ii, pp. 195, 196, and especially J. F. Fleet, "Imaginative *Yojanas*," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1912, pp. 229-239.—N.M.P.

² This mountain served the gods and Asuras as a churning-stick at the Churning of the Ocean for the recovery of the Amṛita and fourteen other precious things lost during the Deluge.

³ For details of these mythical beings see Appendix I at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

⁴ Śiva himself wears a moon's crescent.

the world, my beloved, present, past, or future, that thou dost not know ? ” Then that goddess, beloved of Siva, importuned him eagerly because she was proud in soul on account of his affection.

Then Siva, wishing to flatter her, began by telling her a very short story, referring to her own divine power.

“ Once on a time¹ Brahmā and Nārāyaṇa,² roaming through the world in order to behold me, came to the foot of Himavat. Then they beheld there in front of them a great Brahmā and Nārāyaṇa flame-linga³; in order to discover the end of it, one of them went up, and the other down; and when they could not find the end of it, they proceeded to propitiate me by means of austerities: and I appeared to them and bade them ask for some boon: hearing that Brahmā asked me to become his son; on that account he has ceased to be worthy of worship, disgraced by his overweening presumption:

“ Then that god Nārāyaṇa craved a boon of me, saying: O revered one, may I become devoted to thy service ! Then he became incarnate, and was born as mine in thy form; for thou art the same as Nārāyaṇa, the power of me all-powerful.

“ Moreover thou wast my wife in a former birth.” When Siva had thus spoken, Pārvatī asked: “ How can I have been thy wife in a former birth ? ” Then Siva answered Pārvati’s her: “ Long ago to the Prajāpati Daksha were born Former Births many daughters, and amongst them thou, O goddess ! He gave thee in marriage to me, and the others to Dharma and the rest of the gods. Once on a time he invited all his sons-in-law to a sacrifice. But I alone was not included in the invitation; thereupon thou didst ask him to tell thee why thy husband was not invited. Then he uttered a speech

¹ The Sanskrit word *asti*, meaning “thus it is” [*lit.* “there is”], is a common introduction to a tale.

² *I.e.* Vishṇu. The name was also applied both to Brahmā and Gaṇeśa.—N.M.P.

³ The *linga*, or *phallus*, is a favourite emblem of Siva. Flame is one of his eight *tanu*, or forms—the others being ether, air, water, earth, sun, moon, and the sacrificing priest.—N.M.P.

which pierced thy ears like a poisoned needle : ‘ Thy husband wears a necklace of skulls ; how can he be invited to a sacrifice ? ’

“ And then thou, my beloved, didst in anger abandon thy body, exclaiming : ‘ This father of mine is a villain ; what profit have I then in this carcass sprung from him ? ’

“ And thereupon in wrath I destroyed that sacrifice of Daksha.¹

“ Then thou wast born as the daughter of the Mount of Snow, as the moon’s digit springs from the sea. Then recall how I came to the Himalaya in order to perform austerities ; and thy father ordered thee to do me service as his guest : and there the God of Love, who had been sent by the gods in order that they might obtain from me a son to oppose Tāraka, was consumed,² when endeavouring to pierce me, having obtained a favourable opportunity. Then I was purchased by thee,³ the enduring one, with severe austerities, and I accepted this proposal of thine, my beloved, in order that I might add this merit to my stock.⁴ Thus it is clear that thou wast my wife in a former birth.

“ What else shall I tell thee ? ” Thus Śiva spake, and when he had ceased, the goddess, transported with wrath, exclaimed : “ Thou art a deceiver ; thou wilt not tell me a pleasing tale even though I ask thee. Do I not know that thou worshippest Sandhyā, and bearest Gangā⁵ on thy head ? ” Hearing that, Śiva proceeded to conciliate her, and promised to tell her a wonderful tale : then she dismissed her anger. She herself gave the order that no one was to

¹ See the *Bhāgavata Purāna* for details of this story. It was translated by Burnouf, 4 vols., Paris, 1840-1847, 1884.—N.M.P.

² He was burnt up by the fire of Śiva’s eye.

³ Compare Kālidasa’s *Kumāra Sambhava*, Sarga v, line 86.

⁴ Reading *tatsanchayāya* as one word. Dr Brockhaus omits the line. Professor E. B. Cowell would read *priyam* for *priye*.

⁵ *I.e.* the Ganges, the most worshipped river in the world. It is supposed to have its origin in Śiva’s head, hence one of his many names is *Gangādhara*, “ Ganges-supporter.” For full details of the legend see R. T. H. Griffith, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Benares, 1895, p. 51 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

enter where they were ; Nandin¹ thereupon kept the door, and Siva began to speak.

" The gods are supremely blessed, men are ever miserable, the actions of demigods are exceedingly charming, therefore I now proceed to relate to thee the history of the Vidyā-dharas." While Siva was thus speaking to his consort, there arrived a favourite dependent of Siva's, Pushpadanta, best of Gaṇas,² and his entrance was forbidden by Nandin, who was guarding the door. Curious to know why even he had been forbidden to enter at that time without any apparent reason, Pushpadanta immediately entered, making use of his magic power attained by devotion to prevent his being seen, and when he had thus entered, he heard all the extraordinary and wonderful adventures of the seven Vidyādharaś being narrated by the trident-bearing god, and having heard them, he in turn went and narrated them to his wife Jayā ; for who can hide wealth or a secret from women ? Jayā, the doorkeeper, being filled with wonder, went and recited it in the presence of Pārvatī. How can women be expected to restrain their speech ? And then the daughter of the mountain flew into a passion, and said to her husband : " Thou didst not tell me any extraordinary tale, for Jayā knows it also." Then the lord of Umā, perceiving the truth by profound meditation, thus spake : " Pushpadanta, employing the magic power of devotion, entered in where we were, and thus managed to hear it. He narrated it to Jayā ; no one else knows it, my beloved."

Having heard this, the goddess, exceedingly enraged, caused Pushpadanta to be summoned, and cursed him, as he stood trembling before her, saying : " Become a mortal, thou

¹ One of Siva's favourite attendants—a sacred white bull on which he rides. Most of the paintings and statues of Siva represent him in company with Nandin and Gaṇeśa.—N.M.P.

² Attendants of Siva, presided over by Gaṇeśa—for details of these mythical beings see Appendix I at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

disobedient servant.”¹ She cursed also the Gana Mālyavān who presumed to intercede on his behalf. Then the two fell at her feet together with Jayā and entreated her to say *Pārvati's Curses* when the curse would end, and the wife of Siva slowly uttered this speech: “A Yaksha² named Supratika, who has been made a Piśācha³ by the curse of Kuvera, is residing in the Vindhya forest under the name of Kāṇabhūti. When thou shalt see him, and calling to mind thy origin, tell him this tale; then, Pushpadanta, thou shalt be released from this curse. And when Mālyavān shall hear this tale from Kāṇabhūti, then Kāṇabhūti shall be released, and thou, Mālyavān, when thou hast published it abroad, shalt be free also.” Having thus spoken, the daughter of the mountain ceased, and immediately these Ganas disappeared instantaneously like flashes of lightning. Then it came to pass in the course of time that Gaurī, full of pity, asked Śiva: “My lord, where on the earth have those excellent Pramathas,³ whom I cursed, been born?” And the moon-diademed god answered: “My beloved, Pushpadanta has been born under the name of Vararuchi in that great city which is called Kauśāmbī.⁴ Moreover Mālyavān also has been born in the splendid city called Supratishṭhita under the name of Guṇāḍhya. This, O goddess, is what has befallen them.” Having given her this information, with grief caused by

¹ For the *ativinīta* of Dr Brockhaus' text I read *avinīta*.

² For details of these mythical beings see Appendix I at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

³ *Pramatha*, an attendant on Śiva.

⁴ Kauśāmbī succeeded Hastināpura as the capital of the emperors of India. Its precise site has not been ascertained, but it was probably somewhere in the Doāb, or, at any rate, not far from the west bank of the Yamunā, as it bordered upon Magadha and was not far from the Vindhya hills. It is said that there are ruins at Karāli, or Karāri, about fourteen miles from Allahābād on the western road, which may indicate the site of Kauśāmbī. It is possible also that the mounds of rubbish about Karrah may conceal some vestiges of the ancient capital—a circumstance rendered more probable by the inscription found there, which specifies Kāṭa as comprised within Kauśāmbī maṇḍala or the district of Kauśāmbī (note in Wilson's *Essays*, p. 163).—As will be seen later (Chapter XXXII), the site of Kauśāmbī was discovered by General Cunningham. It is now called Kosam, and is on the Jumna (Yamunā), about thirty miles above Allahābād.—N.M.P.

THE OCEAN OF STORY

recalling to mind the degradation of the servants that had always been obedient to him, that lord continued to dwell with his beloved in pleasure-arbours on the slopes of Mount Kailāsa, which were made of the branches of the *Kalpa* tree.¹

¹ A tree of Indra's Paradise that grants all desires.

CHAPTER II

THEN Pushpadanta, wandering on the earth in the [MI] form of a man, was known by the name of Vararuchi and Kātyāyana. Having attained perfection in the sciences, and having served Nanda as minister, being wearied out he went once on a time to visit the shrine of Durgā.¹ And that goddess, being pleased with Pushpadanta at last meets his austerities, ordered him in a dream to repair Kāṇabhūti to the wilds of the Vindhya to behold Kāṇabhūti. And as he wandered about there in a waterless and savage wood,² full of tigers and apes, he beheld a lofty Nyagrodha tree.³ And near it he saw, surrounded by hundreds of Piśāchas, that Piśācha Kāṇabhūti, in stature like a Sāla tree. When Kāṇabhūti had seen him and respectfully clasped his feet, Kātyāyana sitting down immediately spake to him : “Thou art an observer of the good custom, how hast thou come into this state ?” Having heard this Kāṇabhūti said to Kātyāyana, who had shown affection towards him : “I know not of myself, but listen to what I heard from Siva at Ujjayinī in the place where corpses are burnt ; I proceed to tell it thee.

“The adorable god was asked by Durgā : ‘Whence, my lord, comes thy delight in skulls and burning places ?’

“He thereupon gave this answer :

“‘Long ago, when all things had been destroyed at the end of a Kalpa, the universe became water : I then cleft my thigh and let fall a drop of blood ; that drop falling into the water turned into an egg, from that sprang the Supreme Soul,⁴ the Disposer ; from him proceeded Nature,⁵ created

¹ More literally, the goddess that dwells in the Vindhya hills. Her shrine is near Mirzāpūr.

² Dr Brockhaus makes *parusha* a proper name.

³ *Ficus Indica*.

⁵ *Prakṛiti*, the original source, or rather passive power, of creating the material world.

⁴ *Pumān* = *puruṣa*, the spirit.

by me for the purpose of further creation, and they created the other lords of created beings,¹ and those in turn, the created beings, for which reason, my beloved, the Supreme Soul is called in the world the grandfather. Having thus created the world, animate and inanimate, that Spirit became arrogant² : thereupon I cut off his head : then, through regret for what I had done, I undertook a difficult vow. So thus it comes to pass that I carry skulls in my hand, and love the places where corpses are burned. Moreover, this world, resembling a skull, rests in my hand ; for the two skull-shaped halves of the egg before-mentioned are called heaven and earth.³ When Siva had thus spoken, I, being full of curiosity, determined to listen ; and Pārvatī again said to her husband : ‘After how long a time will that Pushpadanta return to us ?’ Hearing that, Maheśvara spoke to the goddess, pointing me out to her : ‘That Piśācha, whom thou beholdest there, was once a Yaksha, a servant of Kuvera, the God of Wealth, and he had for a friend a Rākshasa named Sthūlaśiras ; and the Lord of Wealth, perceiving that he associated with that evil one, banished him to the wilds of the Vindhya mountains. But his brother Dirghajangha fell at the feet of the god, and humbly asked when the curse would end. Then the God of Wealth said : “After thy brother has heard the great tale from Pushpadanta, who has been born into this world in consequence of a curse, and after he has in turn told it to Mālyavān, who owing to a curse has become a human being, he together with those two Gaṇas shall be released from the effects of the curse.” Such were the terms on which the God of Wealth then ordained that Mālyavān should obtain remission from his curse here below, and thou didst fix the same in the case of Pushpadanta ; recall it to mind, my

¹ *Prajāpati.*

² The spirit was, of course, Brahmā, whose head Siva cut off.

³ The conception of the world-egg is found throughout Indian cosmology. Similar legends of the origin of the world appear both in the period of the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* and in that of the Epics and *Purāṇas*. For full details see the article “Cosmogony and Cosmology (Indian),” by H. Jacobi, in Hastings’ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 155 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

beloved.' When I heard that speech of Siva, I came here, overjoyed, knowing that the calamity of my curse would be terminated by the arrival of Pushpadanta."

When Kāṇabhūti ceased after telling this story, that moment Vararuchi remembered his origin, and exclaimed like one aroused from sleep : " I am that very Pushpadanta. hear that tale from me." Thereupon Kātyāyana related to him the seven great tales in seven hundred thousand verses, and then Kāṇabhūti said to him : " My lord, thou art an incarnation of Siva, who else knows this story ? Through thy favour that curse has almost left my body. Therefore tell me thy own history from thy birth, thou mighty one, sanctify me yet further, if the narrative may be revealed to such a one as I am." Then Vararuchi, to gratify Kāṇabhūti, who remained prostrate before him, told all his history from his birth at full length, in the following words :—

1. Story of Vararuchi, his teacher Varsha, and his fellow-pupils Vyādi and Indradatta

In the city of Kauśāmbī there lived a Brāhmaṇ called Somadatta, who had also the title of Agniśikha, and his wife was called Vasudattā. She was the daughter of a hermit, and was born into the world in this position in consequence of a curse; and I was borne by her to this excellent Brāhmaṇ, also in consequence of a curse. Now while I was still quite a child my father died, but my mother continued to support me, as I grew up, by severe drudgery ; then one day two Brāhmaṇs came to our house to stop a night, exceedingly dusty with a long journey ; and while they were staying in our house there arose the noise of a *tabor*; thereupon my mother said to me, sobbing as she called to mind her husband : " There, my son, is your father's friend Bhavananda, giving a dramatic entertainment." I answered : " I will go and see it, and will exhibit the whole of it to you, with a recitation of all the speeches." On hearing that speech of mine, those Brāhmaṇs were astonished, but my mother said to them : " Come, my children, there is no doubt about the truth of what he says ; this boy

will remember by heart everything that he has heard once.”¹ Then they, in order to test me, recited to me a Prātiśākhya²; immediately I repeated the whole in their presence, then I went with the two Brāhmans and saw that play, and when I came home I went through the whole of it in front of my mother: then one of the Brāhmans, named Vyādi, having ascertained that I was able to recollect a thing on hearing it once, told with submissive reverence this tale to my mother.

1A. *The Two Brāhmaṇ Brothers*

Mother, in the city of Vetaṣa there were two Brāhmaṇ brothers, Deva-Svāmin and Karambaka, who loved one another very dearly; this Indradatta here is the son of one of them, and I am the son of the other, and my name is Vyādi. It came to pass that my father died. Owing to grief for his loss, the father of Indradatta went on the long journey,³ and then the hearts of our two mothers broke with grief; thereupon, being orphans, though we had wealth,⁴ and desiring to acquire learning, we went to the southern region to supplicate the lord Kārttikeya. And while we were engaged in austerities there, the god gave us the following revelation in a dream. “There is a city called Pāṭaliputra, the capital

¹ It appears from an article in *Mélusine*, by A. Bart, entitled “An Ancient Manual of Sorcery,” and consisting mainly of passages translated from Burnell’s *Sāmaridhāna Brāhmaṇa*, that this power can be acquired in the following way:—“After a fast of three nights, take a plant of *soma* (*Asclepias acida*); recite a certain formula and eat of the plant a thousand times, you will be able to repeat anything after hearing it once. Or bruise the flowers in water, and drink the mixture for a year. Or drink *soma*, that is to say the fermented juice of the plant, for a month. Or do it always” (*Mélusine*, 1878, p. 107; II, 7, 4-7).

In the *Milinda Pañho* (*Pali Miscellany*, by V. Trenckner, Part I, p. 14), the child Nāgasena learns the whole of the three Vedas by hearing them repeated once.

² A grammatical treatise on the rules regulating the euphonic combination of letters and their pronunciation peculiar to one of the different Śākhās or branches of the Vedas. See Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 160, 161.

³ I.e. died.

⁴ Here we have a pun which it is impossible to render in English. *Anātha* means without natural protectors and also poor.

of King Nanda, and in it there is a Brāhmaṇa, named Varsha, from him ye shall learn all knowledge, therefore go there." Then we went to that city, and when we made inquiries there, people said to us : "There is a blockhead of a Brāhmaṇa, in this town, of the name of Varsha." Immediately we went on with minds in a state of suspense, and we saw the house of Varsha in a miserable condition, made a very ant-hill by mice, dilapidated by the cracking of the walls, untidy,¹ deprived of eaves, looking like the very birthplace of misery.

Then, seeing Varsha plunged in meditation within the house, we approached his wife, who showed us all proper hospitality ; her body was emaciated and begrimed, her dress tattered and dirty ; she looked like the incarnation of Poverty, attracted thither by admiration for the Brāhmaṇa's virtues. Bending humbly before her, we told her our circumstances, and the report of her husband's imbecility, which we had heard in the city. She exclaimed : "My children, I am not ashamed to tell you the truth : listen ! I will relate the whole story," and then she, chaste lady, proceeded to tell us the tale which follows :—

I.AA. *Varsha and Upavarsha*

There lived in this city an excellent Brāhmaṇa, named Sankara Svāmin, and he had two sons, my husband Varsha, and Upavarsha ; my husband was stupid and poor, and his younger brother was just the opposite : and Upavarsha appointed his own wife to manage his elder brother's house.² Then in the course of time the rainy season came on, and at this time the women are in the habit of making a cake of flour mixed with molasses, of an unbecoming and disgusting shape,³ and giving it to any Brāhmaṇa who is thought to be a

¹ Taking *chhāyā* in the sense of *sobhā*. It might mean "affording no shelter to the inmates."

² Dr Brockhaus translates the line : *Von diesem wurde ich meinem Manne vermählt, um seinem Hauswesen vorzustehen.*

³ Like the Roman *fascinum* ; *guhya* = *linigu* = *phallus*. Professor E. B. Cowell has referred me to an article by Dr Liebrecht in the *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. It was reprinted in his *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 436 *et seq.*, under the title of "Der Aufgegessene Gott." He connects the custom with that of the Jewish women mentioned in Jeremiah vii. 18 : "The

blockhead, and if they act thus, this cake is said to remove their discomfort caused by bathing in the cold season, and

women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven," and he quotes a curious custom practised on Palm Sunday in the town of Saintes.—Dulaure went deeply into the subject in his *Des Divinités Génératrices*, Paris, 1805 (1st edition); 2 vols., 1825 (2nd edition); vol. 2 was enlarged and reprinted in 1885—the last edition was issued in Paris, 1905. He says that in his time the festival was called there "La fête des Pinnes"; the women and children carried in the procession a *phallus* made of bread, which they called a *pinne*, at the end of their palm branches; these *pinnes* were subsequently blessed by the priest, and carefully preserved by the women during the year. Liebrecht gives numerous examples of the making and eating of gods for various reasons. They are usually a form of sympathetic or homœopathic magic. For instance in the time of famine the *Hanifa* tribe of Arabia make an idol of *hais* (dates, butter and milk kneaded together), which they eat, thus hoping to obtain food supplies and a speedy termination of the famine. See Burton's *Nights*, vol. vii, p. 14, where, in the story of Gharib and his brother Ajib, Jamrkan worships a god of '*Agwah*'—i.e. compressed dates, butter and honey. In other cases we see customs connected with the corn goddess which involve the eating of a cake made in some particular shape.

To give a few examples:

At Ulten, in the Trentino district of the Tyrol, the women make a god with the last of the dough which they have been kneading, and when they begin baking the god is thrown into the oven.

In Germany there are distinct festivals connected with such cake ceremonies. In Upper Germany they are called *Manoggel*, *Nikolause*, *Klaus-manner*; in Lower Germany, *Sengterklas*, *Klaskerchen*, etc. They are all connected with St Nicolaus.

In France, in La Pallisse, it is customary to hang several bottles of wine and a "man of dough" on a fig-tree. The tree and its offerings are carried to the Mairie and kept till the end of the grape-picking season, when a harvest festival is held, at which the Mayor breaks the dough figure and distributes it among the people.

In Sweden the figure of a girl is made from the grain of the last sheaf, and is divided up among the household, each member of which eats his allotted portion.

In England, at Nottingham, it was, according to Liebrecht (*op. cit.*), the custom for the bakers to send at Christmas to all their customers buns in the shape of a lozenge, upon which was stamped the Cross, or more often the Virgin and Child. The distant connection with the "Queen of Heaven," mentioned at the beginning of this note, will be recognised.

In the above examples of "cake customs" the phallic element is to a large extent either hidden or forgotten, or else plays but a minor part in the ceremonies described. In many cases, however, the opposite is the case. In his *Remains of the Worship of Priapus*, R. P. Payne Knight states that in Saintonge, in the neighbourhood of La Rochelle, small cakes baked in the

their exhaustion caused by bathing in the hot weather¹; but when it is given, Brāhmans refuse to receive it, on the ground that the custom is a disgusting one. This cake was presented by my sister-in-law to my husband, together with a sacrificial fee; he received it, and brought it home with him, and got a severe scolding from me; then he began to be inwardly consumed with grief at his own stupidity, and went to worship the sole of the foot of the god Kārttikeya: the god, pleased with his austerities, bestowed on him the knowledge of all the sciences; and gave him this order: "When thou findest a Brāhmaṇ who can recollect what he has heard only once, then thou mayest reveal these"—thereupon my husband returned home delighted, and when he had reached

shape of a *phallus* form part of the Easter offering; they are subsequently distributed at all the houses. A similar custom existed at St Jean d'Angély. According to Dulaure (*op. cit.*), in 1825 such cakes were still commonly made at certain times, the male being symbolised at Brives and other localities of Lower Limousin, while the female emblem was adopted at Clermont, in Auvergne, as well as other places.

Turning to the ancient world we find that cakes of phallic form were among the sacred objects carried about in Greece during the Thesmophoria, and in the *λίκνον*, or baskets of first-fruits, at the orphic rite of the Liknophoria, and also at marriages. They were included in the mystic food eaten by the women at the *Hola*, and in all probability formed part of the *sacra* presented to the *μύστρις* in the Eleusinian Mysteries (J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 122, 518, 522, 530 *et seq.*; cf. Clem. Alex., *Protrepit*, ii). At Syracuse, on the day of the Thesmophoria, cakes of sesame and honey, representing the female sex, and known by the name of *μήλλοι*, were carried about and offered to the goddesses—probably Demeter and Kore (Athenaeus, xiv, 56; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii, 99, and the authorities there cited). The Romans, according to Martial, made cakes in the form of either sex.

For further details on customs connected with the making of cakes as part of magical or religious ceremony reference should be made to Hastings' *Encycl. Rel. and Eth.*, vol. iii, p. 57 *et seq.* (Art. "Cakes and Loaves," by J. A. Macculloch); vol. ix, p. 818 *et seq.* (Art. "Phallism," by E. S. Hartland, from which the Greek references in the above note have been taken).—N.M.P.

¹ I read *tat* for *tāh* according to a conjecture of Professor E. B. Cowell. He informs me, on the authority of Dr Rost, that the only variants are *sā* for *tāh* and *yosilitā* for *yoshitāh*. Dr Rost would take *evanq̄krite* as the dative of *evanq̄krit*. If *tāh* be retained, it may be taken as a repetition—"having thus prepared it, I say, the women give it." Professor Cowell would translate (if *tāh* be retained): "the women then do not need to receive anything to relieve their fatigue during the cold and hot weather."

home, told the whole story to me. From that time forth he has remained continually muttering prayers and meditating : so find you some one who can remember anything after hearing it once, and bring him here : if you do that, you will both of you undoubtedly obtain all that you desire.

1A. *The Two Brāhmaṇa Brothers*

•

Having heard this from the wife of Varsha, and having immediately given her a hundred gold pieces to relieve her poverty, we went out of that city ; then we wandered through the earth, and could not find anywhere a person who could remember what he had heard only once ; at last we arrived tired out at your house to-day, and have found here this boy, your son, who can recollect anything after once hearing it : therefore give him us and let us go forth to acquire the commodity knowledge.

1. *Story of Vararuchi . . .*

Having heard this speech of Vyādi, my mother said with respect : " All this tallies completely : I repose confidence in your tale : for long ago at the birth of this my only son, a distinct spiritual¹ voice was heard from heaven. ' A boy has been born who shall be able to remember what he has heard once ; he shall acquire knowledge from Varsha, and shall make the science of grammar famous in the world, and he shall be called Vararuchi by name, because whatever is excellent² shall please him.' Having uttered this, the voice ceased. Consequently, ever since this boy has grown big, I have been thinking, day and night, where that teacher Varsha can be, and to-day I have been exceedingly gratified at hearing it from your mouth. Therefore take him with you : what harm can there be in it, he is your brother ? " When they heard this speech of my mother's, those two, Vyādi and Indradatta, overflowing with joy, thought that night but a moment in length. Then Vyādi quickly gave his own wealth

¹ Literally bodiless—she heard the voice, but saw no man.—It is the same as the Hebrew *Bath kol*, and the Arabic *Hādīf*.—N.M.P.

² *Vara* = excellent ; *ruch* = to please.

to my mother to provide a feast, and desiring that I should be qualified to read the Vedas, invested me with the Brāhmanical thread.¹ Then Vyādi and Indradatta took me, who managed by my own fortitude to control the excessive grief I felt at parting, while my mother in taking leave of me could with difficulty suppress her tears, and considering that the favour of Kārttikeya towards them had now put forth blossom, set out rapidly from that city ; then in course of time we arrived at the house of the teacher Varsha : he too considered that I was the favour of Kārttikeya arrived in bodily form. The next day he placed us in front of him, and sitting down in a consecrated spot he began to recite the syllable Om¹ with heavenly voice. Immediately the Vedas with the six supplementary sciences rushed into his mind, and then he began to teach them to us ; then I retained what the teacher told us after hearing it once, Vyādi after hearing it twice, and Indradatta after hearing it three times : then the Brāhmans of the city, hearing of a sudden that divine sound, came at once from all quarters with wonder stirring in their breasts to see what this new thing might be, and with their reverend mouths loud in his praises, honoured Varsha with low bows. Then beholding that wonderful miracle, not only Upavarsha, but all the citizens of Pāṭaliputra² kept high festival. Moreover, the King Nanda, of exalted fortune, seeing the power of the boon of the son of Siva, was delighted, and immediately filled the house of Varsha with wealth, showing him every mark of respect.³

¹ Explanatory notes will occur in a future volume.—N.M.P.

² *I.e.* Palibothra of the Greek historians. See note in Vol. II, Chapter XVII.—N.M.P.

³ Wilson remarks (*Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, vol. i, p. 165) : "The contemporary existence of Nanda with Vararuchi and Vyādi is a circumstance of considerable interest in the literary history of the Hindus, as the two latter are writers of note on philological topics. Vararuchi is also called in this work Kātyāyana, who is one of the earliest commentators on Pāṇini. Nanda is the predecessor, or one of the predecessors, of Chandragupta or Sandrakottos ; and consequently the chief institutes of Sanskrit grammar are thus dated from the fourth century before the Christian era. We need not suppose that Somadeva took the pains to be exact here ; but it is satisfactory to be made acquainted with the general impressions of a writer who has not been biased in any of his views by Paurānik legends and preposterous chronology."

CHAPTER III

HAVING thus spoken while Kāṇabhūti was listening [MT] with intent mind, Vararuchi went on to tell his tale in the wood :

1. *Story of Vararuchi . . .*

It came to pass in the course of time that one day, when the reading of the Vedas was finished, the teacher Varsha, who had performed his daily ceremonies, was asked by us : " How comes it that such a city as this has become the home of Sarasvatī and Lakshmī¹? tell us that, O teacher." Hearing this, he bade us listen, for that he was about to tell the history of the city.

1B. *The Founding of the City of Pāṭaliputra*

There is a sanctifying place of pilgrimage, named Kana-khala, at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills,² where the sacred stream was brought down from the table-land of Mount Uśinara by Kānchanapāta, the elephant of the gods, having cleft it asunder.³ In that place lived a certain Brāhmaṇa from the Deccan, performing austerities in the company of his wife, and to him were born there three sons. In the course of time he and his wife went to heaven, and those sons of his went to a place named Rājagṛha, for the sake of acquiring learning. And having studied the sciences there, the three, grieved at their unprotected condition, went to the Deccan in order to visit the shrine of the god Kārttikeya. Then they reached a city named Chinchinī, on the

¹ I.e. of learning and material prosperity.

² Literally the gate of the Ganges : it is now well known under the name of Haridvār (Hurdwar).

³ Dr Brockhaus renders the passage : "wo Śiva die Jāhnavi im goldenen Falle von den Gipfeln des Berges Uśinara herabsandte."

shore of the sea, and dwelt in the house of a Brāhmaṇa named Bhojika, and he gave them his three daughters in marriage, and bestowed on them all his wealth, and having no other children, went to the Ganges to perform austerities. And while they were living there in the house of their father-in-law a terrible famine arose, produced by drought. Thereupon the three Brāhmaṇas fled, abandoning their virtuous wives (since no care for their families touches the hearts of cruel men). Then the middle one of the three sisters was found to be pregnant ; and those ladies repaired to the house of Yajnadatta, a friend of their father's ; there they remained in a miserable condition, thinking each on her own husband (for even in calamity women of good family do not forget the duties of virtuous wives). Now in the course of time the middle one of the three sisters gave birth to a son, and they all three vied with one another in love towards him. So it happened once upon a time that, as Siva was roaming through the air, the mother of Skanda,¹ who was reposing on Siva's breast, moved with compassion at seeing their love for their child, said to her husband : " My lord, observe, these three women feel great affection for this boy, and place hope in him, trusting that he may some day support them ; therefore bring it about that he may be able to maintain them, even in his infancy." Having been thus entreated by his beloved, Siva, the giver of boons, thus answered her : " I adopt him as my *protégé*, for in a previous birth he and his wife propitiated me, therefore he has been born on the earth to reap the fruit of his former austerities ; and his former wife has been born again as Pātālī, the daughter of the King Mahendravarman, and she shall be his wife in this birth also." Having said this, that mighty god told those three virtuous women in a dream : " This young son of yours shall be called Putraka ; and every day when he awakes from sleep a hundred thousand gold pieces shall be found under his pillow,² and at last he shall become a king."

¹ Skanda is Kārttikeya and his mother is, of course, Durgā, or Pārvati, the consort of Siva.

² This may be compared with Grimm's No. 60, "Die zwei Brüder." Each of the brothers finds every day a gold piece under his pillow. In one of

Accordingly, when he woke up from sleep, those virtuous daughters of Yajnadatta found the gold and rejoiced that their vows and prayers had brought forth fruit. Then by means of that gold Putraka, having in a short time accumulated great treasure, became a king, for good fortune is the result of austerities.¹ Once upon a time Yajnadatta said in private to Putraka : " King, your father and uncles have gone away into the wide world on account of a famine, therefore give continually to Brāhmans, in order that they may hear of it and return : and now listen, I will tell you the story of Brahmadatta :

1BB. King Brahmadatta²

There lived formerly in Benares a king named Brahmadatta. He saw a pair of swans flying in the air at night. They shone with the lustre of gleaming gold, and were begirt with hundreds of white swans, and so looked like a sudden flash of lightning surrounded by white clouds. And his desire to behold them again kept increasing so mightily that he took

Waldau's *Böhmisches Märchen*, "Vogelkopf und Vogelherz," p. 90, a boy named Fortunat eats the heart of the Glucksvogel and under his pillow every day are found three ducats. See also "Der Vogel Goldschweif," in Gaal's *Märchen der Magyaren*, p. 195.—M. H. Busk in *Folk-Lore of Rome*, London, 1894, pp. 146-154, tells a story which he says is orally current among the common people of Rome. The heart of a bird swallowed by the elder of two brothers has the effect of producing each morning a box full of sequins, which is always found under his head on awakening. The more usual method of enriching poor people in folk-tales is by means of a gold-producing article or animal. The former is nearly always an inexhaustible purse, while the latter varies considerably. In the *Pañchatantra* (iii, 5) and Æsop the gold-producing animal is a goose; it becomes an ass in Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen* and the *Pentamerone* (1st div.), a ram or bull in Norse tales, a lion in Dozon's *Contes Albanais* (No. 17), a little dog in La Fontaine's *Contes et Nouvelles*, and a serpent in the Kalmuck *Relations of Siddhi Kür*. In the *Mahābhārata* we read of King Śrinjaya, who obtained as a boon a son whose nature was such that everything that issued from his body was pure gold. Cf. also the well-known story of Midas, King of Phrygia.—N.M.P.

¹ In this case the austerities which he had performed in a former birth to propitiate Śiva.

² This story is, according to Dr Rajendra Lāl Mitra, found in a MS. called the Bodhisattva Avadāna (*Account of the Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 53).

no pleasure in the delights of royalty. And then, having taken counsel with his ministers, he caused a fair tank to be made according to a design of his own, and gave to all living creatures security from injury. In a short time he perceived that those two swans had settled in that lake, and when they had become tame he asked them the reason of their golden plumage. And then those swans addressed the king with an articulate voice: "In a former birth, O king, we were born as crows; and when we were fighting for the remains of the daily offering¹ in a holy empty temple of Siva we fell down and died within a sacred vessel belonging to that sanctuary, and consequently we have been born as golden swans with a remembrance of our former birth." Having heard this, the king gazed on them to his heart's content, and derived great pleasure from watching them.

1B. *The Founding of the City of Pāṭaliputra*

"Therefore you will gain back your father and uncles by an unparalleled gift." When Yajnadatta had given him this advice, Putraka did as he recommended; when they heard the tidings of the distribution, those Brāhmans arrived; and when they were recognised they had great wealth bestowed on them, and were reunited to their wives. Strange to say, even after they have gone through calamities, wicked men, having their minds blinded by want of discernment, are unable to put off their evil nature. After a time they hankered after royal power, and being desirous of murdering Putraka, they enticed him under pretext of a pilgrimage to the temple of Durgā; and having stationed assassins in the inner sanctuary of the temple, they said to him: "First go and visit the goddess alone. Step inside." Thereupon he entered boldly, but when he saw those assassins preparing to slay him he asked them why they wished to kill him. They replied: "We were hired for gold to do it by your father and uncles." Then the discreet Putraka said to the assassins,

¹ I.e. *bali*, a portion of the daily meal offered to creatures of every description, especially the household spirits. Practically the *bali* generally falls to some crow, hence that bird is called *balibhuj*.

whose senses were bewildered by the goddess : " I will give you this priceless jewelled ornament of mine. Spare me. I will not reveal your secret ; I will go to a distant land." The assassins said, " So be it," and taking the ornament they departed, and falsely informed the father and uncles of Putraka that he was slain. Then those Brāhmans returned and endeavoured to get possession of the throne, but they were put to death by the ministers as traitors. How can the ungrateful prosper ?

In the meanwhile that King Putraka, faithful to his promise, entered the impassable wilds of the Vindhya, disgusted with his relations. As he wandered about he saw two heroes engaged heart and soul in a wrestling match and he asked them who they were. They replied : " We are the two sons of the Asura Maya, and his wealth belongs to us, this vessel, and this stick, and these shoes ; it is for these that we are fighting, and whichever of us proves the mightier is to take them." When he heard this speech of theirs, Putraka said, with a smile : " That is a fine inheritance for a man ! " Then they said : " By putting on these shoes one gains the power of flying through the air ; whatever is written with this staff turns out true ; and whatever food a man wishes to have in the vessel is found there immediately." When he heard this, Putraka said : " What is the use of fighting ? Make this agreement, that whoever proves the best man in running shall possess this wealth." Those simpletons said, " Agreed," and set off to run, while the prince put on the shoes and flew up in the air, taking with him the staff and the vessel. Then he went a great distance in a short time and saw beneath him a beautiful city named Akarshikā and descended into it from the sky. He reflected with himself : " Courtesans are prone to deceive, Brāhmans are like my father and uncles, and merchants are greedy of wealth ; in whose house shall I dwell ? " Just at that moment he reached a lonely dilapidated house, and saw a single old woman in it ; so he gratified that old woman with a present, and lived unobserved in that broken-down old house, waited upon respectfully by the old woman.

Once upon a time the old woman in an affectionate mood

dragged out from the dilapidated house into the presence of the king. Seeing that the king was enraged, he flew up into the air with the help of the shoes, and entered the palace of Pātālī. He said to her, "We are discovered, therefore rise up, let us escape with the help of the shoes," and so taking Pātālī in his arms he flew away from that place through the air.¹ Then descending from heaven near the bank of the Ganges, he refreshed his weary beloved with cakes provided by means of the magic vessel. When Pātālī saw the power of Putraka, she made a request to him, in accordance with which he sketched out with the staff a city furnished with a force of all four arms.² In that city he established himself as king, and his great power having attained full development, he subdued that father-in-law of his, and became ruler of the sea-engirdled earth. This is that same divine city, produced by magic, together with its citizens; hence it bears the name of Pātaliputra, and is the home of wealth and learning.

1. *Story of Vararuchi . . .*

When we heard from the mouth of Varsha the above strange and extraordinarily marvellous story, our minds, O Kāṇabhūti, were for a long time delighted with thrilling wonder.

¹ Compare the way in which Zauberer Vergilius carries off the daughter of the Sultān of Babylon and founds the town of Naples, which he makes over to her and her children (Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. vi, pp. 354, 355). Dunlop is of opinion that the mediæval traditions about Vergil are largely derived from Oriental sources.

² I.e. infantry, cavalry, elephants and archers.

NOTES ON THE “MAGICAL ARTICLES” MOTIF IN FOLK-LORE

A similar incident to that in our text is found in Grimm's *Fairy Tales*, translated by Mrs Paull, p. 370. The hero of the tale called “The Crystal Ball” finds two giants fighting for a little hat. On his expressing his wonder, “Ah,” they replied, “you call it old, you do not know its value. It is what is called a wishing hat, and whoever puts it on can wish himself where he will, and immediately he is there.” “Give me the hat,” replied the young man. “I will go on a little way and when I call you must both run a race to overtake me, and whoever reaches me first, to him the hat shall belong.” The giants agreed, and the youth, taking the hat, put it on and went away; but he was thinking so much of the princess that he forgot the giants and the hat, and continued to go farther and farther without calling them. Presently he sighed deeply and said: “Ah, if I were only at the Castle of the Golden Sun.”

Wilson (*Collected Works*, vol. iii, p. 169, note) observes that “the story is told almost in the same words in the [Persian] *Bahār-i-Dānish*, a purse being substituted for the rod; Jahāndār obtains possession of it, as well as the cup, and slippers in a similar manner. Weber [*Eastern Romances*, Introduction, p. 39] has noticed the analogy which the slippers bear to the cap of Fortunatus. The inexhaustible purse, although not mentioned here, is of Hindu origin also, and a fraudulent representative of it makes a great figure in one of the stories of the *Dasa Kumāra Charita* [ch. ii; see also L. Deslongchamps, *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*, Paris, 1838, p. 35 *et seq.*, and Grasse, *Sagen des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1842, p. 19 *et seq.*.]” The additions between brackets are due to Dr Reinholdt Rost, the editor of Wilson's *Essays*.

The Mongolian form of the story may be found in *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 24. A similar incident also occurs in the Swedish story in Thorpe's *Scandinavian Tales*, entitled “The Beautiful Palace East of the Sun and North of the Earth.” A youth acquires boots by means of which he can go a hundred miles at every step, and a cloak that renders him invisible in a very similar way.

I find that in the notes in Grimm's third volume, p. 168 (edition of 1856), the passage in Somadeva is referred to, and other parallels given. The author of these notes compares a Swedish story in *Cavallius*, p. 182, and Pröhle, *Kindermärchen*, No. 22. He also quotes from the *Siddhi Kür*, the story to which I have referred in *Sagas from the Far East*, and compares a Norwegian story in *Ashbjörnsen*, pp. 53, 171, a Hungarian story in *Mailath and Gual*, No. 7, and an Arabian tale in the continuation of *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (see later in this note). See also *Sicilianische Märchen*, by Laura Gonzenbach, part i, story 31. Here we have a tablecloth, a purse and a pipe. When the tablecloth is spread out one has only to say: “Dear little tablecloth, give macaroni”—or roast meat or whatever may be required—and it is immediately present. The purse will supply as much money as one asks it for, and the pipe is something

like that of the Pied Piper of Hamelin—everyone who hears it must dance. Dr Kohler, in his notes at the end of Laura Gonzenbach's collection, compares (besides the story of Fortunatus, and Grimm, iii, 202), Zingerle, *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, ii, 73 and 193; Curze, *Popular Traditions from Waldeck*, p. 34; *Gesta Romanorum*, ch. cxx; Campbell's *Highland Tales*, No. 10, and many others. The shoes in our present story may also be compared with the bed in the ninth novel of the tenth day of *The Decameron*. See also Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 230; Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagan*, p. 152; and the story of "Die Kaiserin Trebisonda" in a collection of South Italian tales by Woldemar Kaden, entitled *Unter den Olivenbäumen*, published in 1880. The hero of this story plays the same trick as Putraka, and gains thereby an inexhaustible purse, a pair of boots which enable the wearer to run like the wind, and a mantle of invisibility. See also "Beutel, Mantelchen, und Wunderhorn," in the same collection, and No. 22 in Miss Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 153-163. The story is found in the *Avadānas*, translated by Stanislas Julien (Lévéque, *Mythes et Légendes de l'Inde et de la Perse*, p. 570; Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 117). M. Lévéque thinks that La Fontaine was indebted to it for his fable of *L'Huître et les Plaideurs*. See also De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. i, pp. 126-127 and 162. We find a magic ring, brooch and cloth in No. 44 of the English *Gesta*. See also *Syrische Sagen und Märchen*, Von Eugen Prym und Albert Socin, p. 79, where there is a flying carpet. There is a magic tablecloth in the Bohemian "Story of Büsmanda" (Waldau, p. 44), and a magic pot on p. 436 of the same collection; and a food-providing *mesa* in the Portuguese story "A Cacheirinha" (Coelho, *Contos Populares Portugueses*, No. 24, pp. 58-60). In the *Pentamerone*, No. 42 (see Burton's translation, vol. ii, p. 491), there is a magic chest. Kuhn has some remarks on the "Tischchen deck dich" of German tales in his *Westfälische Märchen*, vol. i, p. 369.

For a similar artifice to Putraka's, see the story entitled "Fischer Marchen" in Gaal's *Märchen der Magyaren*, p. 168; Waldau, *Böhmisches Märchen*, pp. 260 and 564 (at this point Tawney's notes end and mine begin—N.M.P.); Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, 2nd edition, p. 263; and A. C. Fryer's *English Fairy Tales from the North Country*. See also "Some Italian Folk-Lore," H. C. Coote (*Folk-Lore Record*, 1878, vol. i, pp. 204-206). In the first story of Basile's *Pentamerone* (Burton's translation, 1893, vol. i, pp. 11-19) we find the hero, after receiving two magical gifts from a ghul, has them stolen by a landlord. A third gift, a magical mace, enables him to recover his stolen property. Similar incidents will be found in L. Léger's *Contes Populaires Slaves*, Paris, 1882; E. H. Carnoy's *Contes Français*, Paris, 1885; T. F. Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, London, 1885; and "The Legend of Bottle Hill" in J. C. Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*. The incident of an attempt to steal magic articles, usually inherited or given as a reward for some kindness, is common in folk-tales. We find it again in Busk's *Folk-Lore of Rome*, 1894, p. 129, where three sons each inherit a magical object—an old hat (of invisibility), a purse (always containing money) and a horn (which summons "One" who accedes to all requests). A wicked queen gets hold of all these articles, but the second son (who, strange to say,

is the hero of the story) finds magical figs which produce long noses and cherries which counteract the effect. He has his revenge on the queen, takes the magic articles, and leaves her with a nose twelve feet long. The story also occurs in Grimm's *Kinder und Hausmärchen*. See also the fourteenth tale of *Sagas from the Far East*.

The lengthening and diminishing noses remind us of the “three wishes” cycle of stories, which started in India (*Pañchatantra*), went through Persia (see Clouston's *Book of Sindibād*, 1884, pp. 71, 72, 190 and 253) and Arabia (see Burton's *Nights*, vol. vi, p. 180, and Chauvin's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, 1904, viii, pp. 51, 52), and via Turkey into Europe, where it appeared in La Fontaine's *Trois Souhaits*, Prior's *Ladle* and *Les Quatre Souhaits de Saint Martin*. Apart from the North European variants of the “magical articles” motif already mentioned, we find the shoes of swiftness worn by Loki when he escaped from Hell. It is not often one finds a recipe for making magic articles, but in an Icelandic story is the following:—“The giant told her that Hermóðr was in a certain desert island, which he named to her; but could not get her thither unless she *flayed the soles of her feet and made shoes for herself out of the skin*; and these shoes, when made, would be of such a nature that they would take her through the air, or over the water, as she liked” (*Icelandic Legends*, translated by Powell and Magnusson, 2nd series, p. 397). The invisible coat is identical with the *Turnhut*, or hat of darkness, in the *Nibelungenlied* and in the *Nifflunga Saga*, and with the *Nebelkappe*, or cloud-cap, of King Alberich, a dwarf of old German romance.

In the Norse tale of the “Three Princesses of Whiteland” (Dasent, 2nd edition, 1859, p. 209 *et seq.*) the wandering king procures a hat, cloak and boots from three fighting brothers.

In the Italian tale of “Liar Bruno” the articles are a pair of boots, a purse and a cloak.

In a Breton version (vol. i of *Mélusine*, under the title of “*Voleur Avisé*”) they are a cloak of transportation, an invisible hat, and gaiters which make the wearer walk as fast as the wind (*cf.* with the story of “Die Kaiserin Trebisonda” mentioned on p. 26).

In tale 21 of *Portuguese Folk-Tales* (Folk-Lore Society, 1883) a soldier comes across two separate couples fighting. From the first couple he gets a cap of invisibility and from the second a pair of magical boots. Similar caps and coats occur in Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan*, where Little Peachling is given these articles by the conquered ogres.

There is a curious Mongolian legend (*Folk-Lore Journal*, 1886, vol. iv, pp. 23, 24) in which a man obtains a gold-producing stone from two quarrelling strangers. The interest in the tale lies in the fact that from this incident the entire Chinese nation can trace its origin!

Returning to Arabia, we read in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. viii, p. 120) that Hasan of Bassorah “came upon two little boys of the sons of the sorcerers, before whom lay a rod of copper graven with talismans, and beside it a skull-cap of leather, made of three gores and wroughten in steel with names and characters. The cap and rod were on the ground and the boys were disputing and beating each other, till the blood ran down between

them; whilst each cried, ‘None shall take the wand but I.’ So Hasan interposed and parted them, saying, ‘What is the cause of your contention?’ and they replied, ‘O uncle, be thou judge of our case, for Allah the Most High hath surely sent thee to do justice between us.’ Quoth Hasan, ‘Tell me your case, and I will judge between you.’” The cap made the wearer invisible and the owner of the rod had authority over seven tribes of the Jinn. For numerous references to incidents similar to those contained in “Hasan of Bassorah” see Chauvin’s *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vii, pp. 38, 39, under the headings of “Ruse pour s’emparer d’un objet précieux” and “Invisible.”

There is another story in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. iv, p. 176), called “Abu Mohammed hight Lazybones,” in which the hero is presented with a sword of invisibility. Burton suggests in a note that the idea of using a sword for this purpose probably arose from the venerable practice of inscribing the blades with sentences, verses and magic figures.

Finally to get back to our starting-place—India. In Steel and Temple’s *Wide-Awake Stories* from the Panjāb and Kashmir there are four magical articles—a wallet with two magic pockets, a staff which will restore to life, a brass pot providing food, and a pair of sandals of transportation.

In Lal Behari Day’s *Folk-Tales of Bengal* (p. 53 *et seq.*) a Brāhmaṇ receives from Durgā an earthen pot which provides sweetmeats. It is stolen, and Durgā gives a second pot, out of which issues Rākshasas who soon help to recover the original gift. A similar story occurs in Freer’s *Old Deccan Days* (No. 12.—“The Jackal, the Barber and the Brahman”), where a food-producing chattee is recovered by another containing a magical stick and ropes by means of which the offenders are punished until they restore the stolen property.

In a manuscript at Le Bibliothèque Nationale is a story described as a “Conte Hindoustani.” It has been translated into French by Garcin de Tassy as “L’inexorable Courtisane et les Talismans” (see *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 1865, vol. x, pp. 149-157). It is a combination of two *motifs*. The first is that of the “magical articles.” The king finds four robbers quarrelling over a sword (capable of cutting off heads of enemies at any distance), a porcelain cup (providing food), a carpet (giving money), and a jewelled throne (of transportation). The king gets them in the usual way and arrives at a city where he sees a palace of great splendour. He is told it belongs to a wealthy courtesan whose fees are enormous. The king, however, falls in love with the girl and by means of the magic carpet gets enough money for a long stay. She learns the king’s secret and awaits her opportunity, until she obtains possession of the four magical articles. The king is reduced to beggary. During his wanderings while in this state, he discovers some magical water which turns those who touch it into monkeys. He collects some, and has his revenge on the courtesan, finally getting back his articles.

This second part of the tale belongs to that cycle of stories where a courtesan tries to ruin men and finally meets her match. The original of this *motif* is “The Story of the Merchant’s Son, the Courtesan and the Wonderful Ape, Ala,” which occurs in Chapter XVII of the *Ocean of Story*.

I shall give numerous variants of the *motif* in a note to the tale when we come to it.

Apart from all the above there are numerous tales in which single magical articles appear. Several have been mentioned, but only as far as they have any analogy to the tale in the *Ocean of Story*. Further details will be found in W. A. Clouston's *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1887, vol. i, pp. 72-122, from which some of the above references have been derived.

See also P. Saintyves, *Les Contes de Perrault*, Paris, 1923, pp. 281-292.

As I have already stated in the Introduction, it is the *incidents* in a story which form the real guide to its history and migration. The plot is of little consequence, being abbreviated or embroidered according to the environment of its fresh surroundings. Thus we find a distinct theme, trait, or *motif*, as we may call it, appearing again and again—not only in Eastern fiction, but also in that of the West. If the *motif* be of a simple nature it seems much more probable that it forms part of the general stock of ideas common to every nation. Certain definite fiction *motifs* would naturally suggest themselves to most people, such as letting the *youngest* son marry the princess or find the treasure, or obtaining magical articles or help from supernatural beings. In cases like these there is no *necessity* to suspect any Eastern origin, although the Western tale may have been improved or enriched from the East.

In the “magical articles” *motif* we notice two distinct varieties: (1) where the articles are stolen by the hero; (2) where they are stolen from the hero. In (1) he nearly always meets two or more people fighting and, without any scruples, proceeds to trick them out of their belongings—in only one case (the first in this note) are the articles taken through absent-mindedness. In (2) the hero inherits or earns the articles; he is tricked into telling their secrets and then has them stolen, only to recover them by the help of the original donor.

A glance through the above references to the numerous variants of the “magical articles” tale in East and West will show that it is in the Eastern stories in which the hero is allowed to steal with impunity, while in the Western tales he comes by the articles honestly. The Easterns have a highly developed sense of humour, and any *successful* trick played off against a Kāzī, fakir, or in fact anyone, is sure to bring a round of applause. I therefore suggest this as a possible explanation.

In conclusion, then, I would not class this *motif* as migratory to the same extent as is the story of “Upakoṣū and her Four Lovers,” which is to be discussed shortly. There is no doubt that it *did* travel from the East, but it seems probable that it found more or less the same ideas already in common circulation, for the simple reason that the particular *motif* happened to be rather a commonplace one. Perhaps the Eastern imagination could add a more amusing incident, portion of an incident, or a more striking dénouement to a tale already current in a Western land. It seems very probable that the incident of the fight over the magical articles was directly derived from the East, while the idea of the magical articles themselves was, in some form or other, already established in Western *Märchen*.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER IV

HAVING related this episode to Kāñabhūti in the [MT] Vindhya forest, Vararuchi again resumed the main thread of his narrative :

1. *Story of Vararuchi . . .*

While thus dwelling there with Vyādi and Indradatta, I gradually attained perfection in all sciences, and emerged from the condition of childhood. Once on a time when we went out to witness the festival of Indra we saw a maiden looking like some weapon of Kāma, not of the nature of an arrow. Then Indradatta, on my asking him who that lady might be, replied. "She is the daughter of Upavarsha, and her name is Upakośā"; and she found out by means of her handmaids who I was, and drawing my soul after her with a glance made tender by love, she with difficulty managed to return to her own house. She had a face like a full moon,¹ and eyes like a blue lotus; she had arms graceful like the stalk of a lotus, and a lovely full² bosom; she had a neck

¹ This hardly seems complimentary from an English point of view, but the simile is a favourite one, not only in India, but in Turkey, Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan. Readers who have seen the full moon in the East will understand.—N.M.P.

² Literally, "she was splendid with a full bosom . . . glorious with coral lips." For *uttama* in the first half of *śloka* 6 I read *upama*.—As can be seen from the rock-carvings of ancient India, and also from the work of Court painters, the Hindus always admired the full breast. This was also considered a *sine qua non* among the Samoans. The Arabs insisted on firmness rather than size. The following description from the *Nights* (Burton, vol. i, p. 84) forms an interesting comparison to that in our text:—"Her forehead was flower-white; her cheeks like the anemone ruddy bright; her eyes were those of the wild heifer or the gazelle, with eyebrows like the crescent-moon which ends Sha'abān and begins Ramazān; her mouth was the ring of Sulayman, her lips coral-red, and her teeth like a line of strung pearls or of camomile petals. Her throat recalled the antelope's, and her breasts, like two pome-

marked with three lines like a shell,¹ and magnificent coral lips ; in short, she was a second Lakshmi, so to speak, the storehouse of the beauty of King Kama. Then my heart was cleft by the stroke of love's arrow, and I could not sleep that night through my desire to kiss her *bimba*² lip. Having at last with difficulty gone off to sleep, I saw, at the close of night, a celestial woman in white garments ; she said to me : “ Upakośā was thy wife in a former birth ; as she appreciated merit, she desires no one but thee ; therefore, my son, thou oughtest not to feel anxious about this matter. I am Sarasvatī³ that dwell continually in thy frame, I cannot bear to behold thy grief.” When she had said this she disappeared. Then I woke up and, somewhat encouraged, I went slowly and stood under a young mango-tree near the house of my beloved ; then her confidante came and told me of the ardent attachment of Upakośā to me, the result of sudden passion ; then I, with my pain doubled, said to her : “ How can I obtain Upakośā unless her natural protectors willingly bestow her upon me ? For death is better than dishonour ; so if by any means your friend's heart became known to her parents, perhaps the end might be prosperous.

“ Therefore bring this about, my good woman : save the life of me and of thy friend.” When she heard this she went and told all to her friend's mother, she immediately told it to her husband Upavarsha, he to Varsha his brother, and Varsha approved of the match. Then, my marriage having been determined upon, Vyādi, by the order of my tutor, went and brought my mother from Kauśāmbī ; so Upakośā was bestowed upon me by her father with all due ceremonies, and I lived happily in Pāṭaliputra with my mother and my wife.

Now in course of time Varsha got a great number of

granates of even size, stood at bay as it were ; her body rose and fell in waves below her dress like the rolls of a piece of brocade, and her navel would hold an ounce of benzoin ointment.” All references to the *Nights* are to the original edition.—N.M.P.

¹ Considered to be indicative of exalted fortune.—*Monier Williams*.

² The *bimba* being an Indian fruit, this expression may be paralleled by “ currant lip ” in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, i, 1, 216, or “ cherry lip ” in *Richard III*, i, 1, 94.

³ Goddess of eloquence and learning.

pupils, and among them there was one rather stupid pupil of the name of Pāṇini ; he, being wearied out with service, was sent away by the preceptor's wife, and being disgusted at it, and longing for learning, he went to the Himālaya to perform austerities : then he obtained from the god who wears the moon as a crest, propitiated by his severe austerities, a new grammar, the source of all learning. Thereupon he came and challenged me to a disputation, and seven days passed away in the course of our disputation ; on the eighth day he had been fairly conquered by me, but immediately afterwards a terrible menacing sound was uttered by Siva in the firmament ; owing to that our Aindra grammar was exploded in the world,¹ and all of us, being conquered by Pāṇini, became accounted fools. Accordingly full of despondency I deposited in the hand of the merchant Hiranyakadatta my wealth for the maintenance of my house, and after informing Upakośā of it, I went fasting to Mount Himālaya to propitiate Siva with austerities.

Upakośā, on her part anxious for my success, remained in her own house, bathing every day in the Ganges, strictly observing her vow. One day, when spring had come, she, *Upakośā and her Four Lovers*² being still beautiful, though thin and slightly pale, and charming to the eyes of men, like the streak of the new moon, was seen by the king's domestic chaplain while going to bathe in the Ganges, and also by the head magistrate, and by the prince's minister ; and immediately they all of them became a target for the arrows of love. It happened too, somehow, that she took a long time bathing that day, and as she was returning in the evening the prince's minister laid violent hands on her, but she with great presence of mind said to him : " Dear sir, I desire this as much as you, but I am of respectable family, and my husband is away from home. How can I act thus ?

¹ See Dr Burnell's *Aindra Grammar* for the bearing of this passage on the history of Sanskrit literature.

² Tawney writes a short note of eleven lines on this story, but in order to appreciate the importance and wide distribution of the tale it will be necessary to rewrite and greatly enlarge the note in view of more recent research. See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

Someone might perhaps see us, and then misfortune would befall you as well as me. Therefore you must come without fail to my house in the first watch of the night of the spring festival when the citizens are all excited.”¹ When she had said this, and pledged herself, he let her go, but, as chance would have it, she had not gone many steps farther before she was stopped by the king’s domestic priest. She made a similar assignation with him also for the second watch of the same night; and so he too was, though with difficulty, induced to let her go; but after she had gone a little farther, up comes a third person, the head magistrate, and detains the trembling lady. Then she made a similar assignation with him too for the third watch of the same night, and having by great good fortune got him to release her, she went home all trembling, and of her own accord told her handmaids the arrangements she had made, reflecting: “Death is better for a woman of good family, when her husband is away, than to meet the eyes of people who lust after beauty.” Full of these thoughts, and regretting me, the virtuous lady spent that night in fasting, lamenting her own beauty. Early the next morning she sent a maid-servant to the merchant Hiranyagupta to ask for some money in order that she might honour the Brāhmans; then that merchant also came and said to her in private: “Show me love, and then I will give you what your husband deposited.” When she heard that, she reflected that she had no witness to prove the deposit of her husband’s wealth, and perceived that the merchant was a villain, and so, tortured with sorrow and grief, she made a fourth and last assignation with him for the last watch of the same night; so he went away. In the meanwhile she had prepared by her handmaids in a large vat lamp-black mixed with oil and scented with musk and other perfumes, and she made ready four pieces of rag anointed with it, and she caused to be made a large trunk with a fastening outside. So on that day of the spring festival the prince’s minister came in the first watch of the night in gorgeous array. When he had entered without being observed, Upakosā said to him: “I will not receive you

¹ And will not observe you.

until you have bathed, so go in and bathe." The simpleton agreed to that, and was taken by the handmaids into a secret dark inner apartment. There they took off his under-garments and his jewels, and gave him by way of an under-garment a single piece of rag, and they smeared the rascal from head to foot with a thick coating of that lamp-black and oil, pretending it was an unguent, without his detecting it. While they continued rubbing it into every limb the second watch of the night came and the priest arrived. The handmaids thereupon said to the minister : "Here is the king's priest come, a great friend of Vararuchi's, so creep into this box," and they bundled him into the trunk just as he was, all naked, with the utmost precipitation ; and then they fastened it outside with a bolt. The priest too was brought inside into the dark room on the pretence of a bath, and was in the same way stripped of his garments and ornaments, and made a fool of by the handmaids by being rubbed with lamp-black and oil, with nothing but the piece of rag on him, until in the third watch the chief magistrate arrived. The handmaids immediately terrified the priest with the news of his arrival, and pushed him into the trunk like his predecessor. After they had bolted him in, they brought in the magistrate on the pretext of giving him a bath, and so he, like his fellows, with a piece of rag for his only garment, was bamboozled by being continually anointed with lamp-black, until in the last watch of the night the merchant arrived. The handmaids made use of his arrival to alarm the magistrate, and bundled him also into the trunk and fastened it on the outside. So those three being shut up inside the box, as if they were bent on accustoming themselves to live in the hell of blind darkness, did not dare to speak on account of fear, though they touched one another. Then Upakośā brought a lamp into the room, and making the merchant enter it, said to him : "Give me that money which my husband deposited with you." When he heard that, the rascal said, observing that the room was empty : "I told you that I would give you the money your husband deposited with me." Upakośā, calling the attention of the people in the trunk, said : "Hear, O ye gods, this speech

of Hiranyagupta." When she had said this she blew out the light, and the merchant, like the others, on the pretext of a bath, was anointed by the handmaids for a long time with lamp-black. Then they told him to go, for the darkness was over, and at the close of the night they took him by the neck and pushed him out of the door sorely against his will.. Then he made the best of his way home, with only the piece of rag to cover his nakedness, and smeared with the black dye, with the dogs biting him at every step, thoroughly ashamed of himself, and at last reached his own house; and when he got there he did not dare to look his slaves in the face while they were washing off that black dye. The path of vice is indeed a painful one. In the early morning Upakośā, accompanied by her handmaids, went, without informing her parents, to the palace of King Nanda, and there she herself stated to the king that the merchant Hiranyagupta was endeavouring to deprive her of money deposited with him by her husband. The king, in order to inquire into the matter, immediately had the merchant summoned, who said : "I have nothing in my keeping belonging to this lady." Upakośā then said : "I have witnesses, my lord; before he went, my husband put the household gods into a box, and this merchant with his own lips admitted the deposit in their presence. Let the box be brought here and ask the gods yourself." Having heard this, the king in astonishment ordered the box to be brought.

Thereupon in a moment that trunk was carried in by many men. Then Upakośā said : "Relate truly, O gods, what that merchant said, and then go to your own houses; if you do not, I will burn you or open the box in court." Hearing that, the men in the box, beside themselves with fear, said : "It is true, the merchant admitted the deposit in our presence." Then the merchant, being utterly confounded, confessed all his guilt; but the king, being unable to restrain his curiosity, after asking permission of Upakośā, opened the chest there in court by breaking the fastening, and those three men were dragged out, looking like three lumps of solid darkness, and were with difficulty recognised

by the king and his ministers. The whole assembly then burst out laughing, and the king in his curiosity asked Upakośā what was the meaning of all this; so the virtuous lady told the whole story. All present in court expressed their approbation of Upakośā's conduct, observing: "The virtuous behaviour of women of good family who are protected by their own excellent disposition¹ only, is incredible."

Then all those coveters of their neighbour's wife were deprived of all their living, and banished from the country. Who prospers by immorality? Upakośā was dismissed by the king, who showed his great regard for her by a present of much wealth, and said to her: "Henceforth thou art my sister"; and so she returned home. Varsha and Upavarsha, when they heard it, congratulated that chaste lady, and there was a smile of admiration on the face of every single person in that city.

In the meanwhile, by performing a very severe penance on the snowy mountain, I propitiated the god, the husband of Pārvatī, the great giver of all good things; he revealed to me that same treatise of Pāṇini; and in accordance with his wish I completed it: then I returned home without feeling the fatigue of the journey, full of the nectar of the favour of that god who wears on his crest a digit of the moon; then I worshipped the feet of my mother and of my spiritual teachers, and heard from them the wonderful achievement of Upakośā; thereupon joy and astonishment swelled to the upmost height in my breast, together with natural affection and great respect for my wife.

Now Varsha expressed a desire to hear from my lips the new grammar, and thereupon the god Kārttikeya himself revealed it to him. And it came to pass that Vyādi and *The New Indradatta* asked their preceptor Varsha what *Grammar* fee they should give him. He replied: "Give me ten millions of gold pieces." So they, consenting to the preceptor's demand, said to me: "Come with us, friend, to ask the King Nanda to give us the sum required for our

¹ Instead of the walls of a seraglio.

teacher's fee ; we cannot obtain so much gold from any other quarter : for he possesses nine hundred and ninety millions, and so long ago he declared your wife Upakośā his sister in the faith, therefore you are his brother-in-law ; we shall obtain something for the sake of your virtues." Having formed this resolution, we three fellow-students¹ went to the camp of King Nanda in Ayodhyā, and the very moment we arrived the king died ; accordingly an outburst of lamentation arose in the kingdom, and we were reduced to despair. Immediately Indradatta, who was an adept in magic, said : " I will enter the body of this dead king² ;

¹ Dr Brockhaus translates : " alle drei mit unsren Schülern."

² This forms the leading event of the story of Fadlallah in the Persian tales. The dervish there avows his having acquired the faculty of animating a dead body from an aged Brāhmaṇ in the Indies (Wilson).—

The same story as that in our text occurs in Merutunga's *Prabandha-cintāmani*. See Tawney's translation, *Bib. Ind.*, 1899, p. 170. On p. 10 of the same work the king enters the body of one of his own elephants, besides that of various other animals.

It has been reported from Buddhist sources that the same thing actually happened at the death of Chandragupta, the Maurya monarch. His dead body was occupied by a Yaksha named Devagarbha. (See Benfey, *Das Pañcalantra*, vol. i, p. 123.)

The idea of the soul leaving the body and going on its travels originates in the ancient Egyptian *Ka*, or "double." In the "Adventure of Satni-Khamois with the Mummies" (Maspero's *Stories of Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 119, 120) we read : " And Nenoferkeptah was not alone in the tomb, but his wife Ahuri, and Mashēt his son were with him ; for though their bodies reposed at Coptos, their double was with him by virtue of the book of Thoth." This story dates from Ptolemaic times.

The belief in a "double" is world-wide, as will be seen from A. E. Crawley's article, "Doubles," in vol. iv, p. 853 *et seq.*, of Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.* Among the Hindus there is a wide belief that when a man is asleep his soul leaves him and goes travelling, or whatever else it has a mind to do. When the body is thus left empty there is always the possibility of it being tenanted by some passing stranger—hostile or friendly. Hindus are very cautious about waking up a sleeping friend lest his soul be absent. Crooke says (*Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. i, 1896, p. 232) that in Bombay it is considered most reprehensible to play jokes on a sleeping person, such as painting the face in fantastic colours, or giving moustaches to a sleeping woman. The absent soul on returning would never be able to recognise its body, and depart altogether, leaving the body a corpse. Cf. Frazer, *Taboo and Perils of the Soul*, pp. 37 and 49.

The ancient idea of the wandering soul has given rise to a motif in Eastern

let Vararuchi prefer the petition to me, and I will give him the gold, and let Vyādi guard my body until I return." Saying this, Indradatta entered into the body of King Nanda, and when the king came to life again there was great rejoicing in the kingdom. While Vyādi remained in an empty temple to guard the body of Indradatta, I went to the king's palace. I entered, and, after making the usual salutation, I asked the supposed Nanda for ten million gold pieces as my instructor's fee. Then he ordered a man named

fiction called by various names, such as *dehāntara-āveśa*, *anya-deha-praveśako yogah*, etc., which we may translate as "entering another's body." It is this *motif* which has given the *rāvī* an excellent opportunity of introducing all kinds of situations and exciting incidents into his tales. Our story of King Nanda and Indradatta is a good example of the use to which the *motif* can be put.

As the "entering another's body" *motif* occurs again in Chapter XLV of this work, I shall have more to say in a further note, especially with regard to a paper by Professor Bloomfield, entitled "On the Art of Entering Another's Body," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, lvi, 1. I shall, however, conclude this note by stressing the fact that there are two distinct *motifs* in connection with the "soul." One is connected with the possession of the magical power (*yoga*) of leaving one's own body and entering that of a dead person or animal, which can be looked upon as a more developed form of the idea of the "wandering soul."

The other *motif* is recognised by the fact that a person *regularly* keeps his "heart," "soul," or "life" in an extraneous object. This is the "external soul" or "life-index" *motif*.

The two *motifs* are perfectly clear and distinct, but, as both W. Crooke and E. Sidney Hartland have muddled them up (see below), some elucidation seems necessary. An excellent example of the *motif* with which we are here concerned—that of "entering another's body"—forms the ladies' thirtieth story in Gibb's *History of the Forty Vezirs*, p. 313. The story is still current in Kashmir and was told with only slight differences to Sir Aurel Stein in 1896 by a professional story-teller named Hātim Tilawōñi¹, of Panzil in the Sind Valley. It appears as "The Tale of a Parrot" in Stein and Grierson's *Hatim's Tales*, 1923, pp. 5-11. On pp. xxxi and xxxii of the same work both Crooke and Hartland comment on the story. The latter quotes Gibb's tale and wrongly says it is an example of the "separable soul" cycle. He also makes a mistake in his short résumé of the story itself, as the king is *not* "forced to enter and reanimate a dead parrot," he does it entirely of his own free will, to show his vezir how clever he is. The *forcing* comes in when he finds later he is unable to re-enter his own body as it is already occupied—so he is forced to await his opportunity while still in the body of the parrot. On p. xxxii Crooke says: "The tale under consideration is what has been called 'The Life-Index' of the king." This is equally wrong. It is clearly no

Sakatāla,¹ the minister of the real Nanda, to give me ten million of gold pieces. That minister, when he saw that the dead king had come to life, and that the petitioner immediately got what he asked, guessed the real state of the case. What is there that the wise cannot understand ? That minister said : " It shall be given, your Highness," and reflected with himself : " Nanda's son is but a child, and our realm is menaced by many enemies, so I will do my best for the present to keep his body on the throne even in its present state." Having resolved on this, he immediately took steps to have all dead bodies burned, employing spies to discover them, and among them was found the body of Indradatta, which was burned after Vyādi had been hustled out of the temple. In the meanwhile the king was pressing for the payment of the money, but Sakatāla, who was still in doubt, said to him : " All the servants have got their heads turned by the public rejoicing, let the Brāhmaṇa wait a moment until I can give it." Then Vyādi came and complained aloud in the presence of the supposed Nanda : " Help, help ; a Brāhmaṇa engaged in magic, whose life had not yet come to an end in a natural way, has been burnt by force on the pretext that his body was untenanted, and this in the very moment of your good fortune."² On hearing this the

life-index at all, and it is hard to conceive how Crooke could consider it such. It is a very obvious example of the *motif* of "entering another's body."

In a later note I shall discuss the "life-index" or "external soul" *motif* at some length, so that the difference between these two "soul" or "life" *motifs* will be even still clearer.—N.M.P.

¹ So also in the *Parīśiṣṭāparvan* (ed. Jacobi), but in the *Prabandha-cintāmani* (Tawney, p. 193) it appears as Śakaḍāla, and in two MSS. as Śakatāli.—N.M.P.

² Compare the story in the *Pañchatantra*, Benfey's translation, p. 124, of the king who lost his soul but eventually recovered it. Benfey in vol. i, p. 128, refers to some European parallels. Liebrecht in his *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 206, mentions a story found in Apollonius (*Historia Mirabilium*) which forms a striking parallel to this. According to Apollonius, the soul of Hermotimos of Klazomenæ left his body frequently, resided in different places, and uttered all kinds of predictions, returning to his body which remained in his house. At last some spiteful persons burned his body in the absence of his soul. There is a slight resemblance to this story in *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 222. By this it may be connected with a cycle

supposed Nanda was in an indescribable state of distraction from grief ; but as soon as Indradatta was imprisoned in the body of Nanda, beyond the possibility of escape, by the burning of his body, the discreet Sakatāla went out and gave me that ten millions.

Then the supposed Nanda,¹ full of grief, said in secret to Vyādi : " Though a Brāhmaṇa by birth, I have become a Sūdra. What is the use of my royal fortune to me though it be firmly established ? " When he heard that, Vyādi comforted him,² and gave him seasonable advice : " You have been discovered by Śakatāla, so you must henceforth be on your guard against him, for he is a great minister, and in a short time he will, when it suits his purpose, destroy you, and will make Chandragupta, the son of the previous Nanda, king. Therefore immediately appoint Vararuchi your minister, in order that your rule may be firmly established by the help of his intellect, which is of god-like acuteness." When he had said this, Vyādi departed to give that fee to his preceptor, and immediately Yogananda sent for me and made me his minister. Then I said to the king : " Though your estate as a Brāhmaṇa has been taken from you, I do not consider your throne secure as long as Śakatāla remains in office, therefore destroy him by some stratagem." When I had given him this advice, Yogananda threw Śakatāla into a dark dungeon,³ and his hundred sons with him, proclaiming as his crime that he had burnt a Brāhmaṇa alive. One porringer of barley-meal and one of water was placed inside the dungeon every day for Śakatāla and his sons, and

of European tales about princes with ferine skin, etc. Apparently a treatise has been written on this story by Herr Varnhagen. It is mentioned in *The Saturday Review* of 22nd July 1882 as "Ein indisches Marchen auf seiner Wanderung durch die asiatischen und europäischen Litteraturen."—See also Tawney's *Kathākoṣa*, Royal Asiatic Society, 1895, p. 38. For the burning of temporarily abandoned bodies see Benfey, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 253, and vol. ii, p. 147.—N.M.P.

¹ Or Yogananda. So called as being Nanda by *yoga* or magic.—The name Indradatta is now dropped and hereafter he is referred to only as Yogananda.—N.M.P.

² I read *āśvāya*.

³ Compare this story with that of Ugolino in Dante's *Inferno*.

thereupon he said to them : " My sons, even one man alone would with difficulty subsist on this barley-meal, much less can a number of people do so. Therefore let that one of us who is able to take vengeance on Yogananda consume every day the barley-meal and the water." His sons answered him : " You alone are able to punish him, therefore do you consume them." For vengeance is dearer to the resolute than life itself. So Śakatāla alone subsisted on that meal and water every day. Alas ! those whose souls are set on victory are cruel. Śakatāla, in the dark dungeon, beholding the death agonies of his starving sons, thought to himself : " A man who desires his own welfare should not act in an arbitrary manner towards the powerful without fathoming their character and acquiring their confidence." Accordingly his hundred sons perished before his eyes, and he alone remained alive, surrounded by their skeletons. Then Yogananda took firm root in his kingdom. And Vyādi approached him after giving the present to his teacher, and after coming near to him said : " May thy rule, my friend, last long ! I take my leave of thee. I go to perform austerities somewhere." Hearing that, Yogananda, with his voice choked with tears, said to him : " Stop thou and enjoy pleasure in my kingdom ; do not go and desert me." Vyādi answered : " King ! life comes to an end in a moment. What wise man, I pray you, drowns himself in these hollow and fleeting enjoyments ? Prosperity, a desert mirage, does not turn the head of the wise man." Saying this he went away that moment, resolved to mortify his flesh with austerities. Then that Yogananda went to his metropolis, Pāṭaliputra, for the purpose of enjoyment, accompanied by me, and surrounded with his whole army. So I, having attained prosperity, lived for a long time in that state, waited upon by Upakośā, and bearing the burden of the office of prime minister to that king, accompanied by my mother and my preceptors. There the Ganges, propitiated by my austerities, gave me every day much wealth, and Sarasvatī, present in bodily form, told me continually what measures to adopt.

THE "ENTRAPPED SUITORS" MOTIF

The "entrapped suitors" *motif*, as I would call it, is to be found throughout both Asia and Europe. I consider it forms, without doubt, an example of a migratory tale. The original form of the story, and origin of all the others, is that in the *Ocean of Story*. The incidents in it are of such a nature that the theory of numerous independent origins is unfeasible. A close inspection of the various stories I shall quote shows quite clearly the effects of local environment, and two distinct variants of story can be perceived :

1. The woman entraps three, or more, suitors and holds them up to ridicule before her husband, or the entire city.

2. The incident of a test article of chastity is added; accordingly the gallants try to cause the wife to be unfaithful, so that her action will have its effect on the magic article.

In both variants the gallants are hidden in trunks or sacks, and come out painted, naked, feathered, and so forth.

We will start our inquiry in India and move slowly westwards.

General Cunningham states on p. 53 of his *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, that in one of the sculptures he thinks he can clearly detect the dénouement of our story. If this is so, it proves that (1) the story is of Buddhist origin ; (2) it dates from the third century B.C. Barhut (or Bharahut) is about one hundred and twenty miles south-west of Allahābād, and if the story, or at any rate some part of it, was well enough known to be represented in a bas-relief of an edifice raised over the ashes of some distinguished person, it seems quite possible that it would have found its way into the *Brihat-Kathā*, to be later utilised by Somadeva. Nevertheless the first literary appearance of the "entrapped suitors" story is undoubtedly in the *Ocean of Story*. In the story of Devasmitā in Chapter XIII of this volume we find a distinct resemblance to the tale of Upakośā, with the addition of the two red lotuses, of which the absent husband takes one and the wife keeps the other. Both remain unfaded while chastity lasts. Devasmitā has the gallants drugged, after which they are stripped, branded and thrown into a ditch of filth. Both these tales of Somadeva are strictly moral—the heroine is a virtuous married woman, she is faithful to her absent husband and shames the would-be adulterers. We shall see shortly how, on reaching other lands, incidents are altered and new ones of a distinctly coarse nature added.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, pp. 2, 3, 1873, G. A. Damant relates, in a story called "The Touchstone," the tricks played by a woman on four admirers. The first arrival is smeared over with molasses, drenched with water, covered with cotton-wool and fastened in a window. The woman pretends to the other men that he is a Rākshasa, which is sufficient for them to flee and leave her in peace. It is described in detail by Clouston in his *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. ii, pp. 303-305. In the chapter in which this occurs, headed "The Lady and her Suitors," will be found many extracts

or detailed descriptions of several of the stories mentioned in this note. In Miss Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales* (No. 28) the heroine is accosted by four men when selling her thread in the market. She gets them all in separate chests, which she sells to the men's sons. The shame of the fathers when their sons open the chests can be imagined! (See also the note at the end of Miss Stokes' book.)

There is a slight connection in one of the exploits of the Indian jester, Temal Ramakistnan (quoted by Clouston, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 305-307). He makes the *rājā* and priest, from whom he wishes to obtain an oath of protection, imagine they are going to an assignation with the fair wife of a traveller; he then locks them up till he gets what he wants.

Proceeding westward from India we find a similar story to that under discussion in Thorburn's *Bannū, or Our Afghan Frontier* (see *Mélusine*, p. 178).

In Persia the story soon became popular. It occurs in the *Tūlī-Nāma* of Nakhshabī; in the *Thousand and One Days*, by the Dervish Makhlis of Ispahān, where the wife is still virtuous and successfully shames her would-be lovers. It also appears in the *Bahār-i-Dānish*, or *Spring of Knowledge*, by 'Ināyatūllāh. In this story the husband is in the hands of the police. His wife, Gohera by name, entraps the *Kutwal* (police magistrate) in a big jar and a *kāzī* in a chest, and finally gets her husband released. There is another Persian story worth mentioning—*Gul-i-Bakāwālī*, or *The Rose of Bakāwālī*, written by Shaykh 'Izzat Ullāh in 1712. Four brothers get enticed into the house of a courtesan, lose everything by gambling, become her slaves and, after being branded on their backs as a mark of their shame, are released by the hero, their youngest brother. (For further details see Clouston's *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, 1889, p. 240 *et seq.*)

We now pass on to Arabia, where we find the story fully developed, with a few coarse additions inserted by the *rāwi*. It appears twice in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. vi, p. 172 *et seq.*, and Supp., vol. v, p. 253 *et seq.*). The first of these is the tale of "The Lady and her Five Suitors." As in the Persian *Bahār-i-Dānish*, so here the woman's action is caused by the desire to free her husband from prison. She dresses the men in comical clothes and hides each of them in a kind of tall-boy which she has had specially made for the purpose. The five men are kept locked up in it for three days, and it is here that the *rāwi* takes care not to lose the chance of getting a laugh out of his audience by adding a few unpleasant details. The second story is "The Goodwife of Cairo and her Four Gallants." The woman makes them strip and put on a gaberdine and bonnet. When the husband returns they are let out of the chest on the condition that they will first dance and each tell a story, which they do.

In *The Seven Vazirs* an almost exact story to the first one mentioned in the *Nights* appears as the first tale of the sixth vazir. It is entitled "Story of the Merchant's Wife and her Suitors." (See p. 181 *et seq.* of Clouston's *Book of Sindibād*.)

In the Turkish *History of the Forty Vezirs*, the twenty-first vezir's story bears a slight resemblance to the above, but there is only one man and he is the willing lover of the woman. (See Gibb's translation, p. 227 *et seq.*) In

Europe we find the story very widely spread. One of the most complete and oldest versions is *fabliau* entitled "De la dame qui attrapa un prêtre, un prévôt, et un forestier," or "Constant du Hamel." See Barbazan-Méon's *Fabliaux et Contes des Poètes François des XI^e-XV^e siècles*, 4 vols., Paris, 1808, iii, p. 296, and Montaignon's *Recueil général et complet des Fabliaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 6 vols., Paris, 1877, iv, p. 166. In this version the gallants strip, bathe, get into a tub of feathers and are finally chased by dogs through the streets.

In Italy it forms, with variations, the eighth novel of the eighth day of *The Decameron*; the forty-third of the third *deca* of *Bandello*; the eighth novel of the ninth day of *Sansovino*; the fifth tale of the second night of *Straparola*; the eighth novel of *Forteguerri*, and the ninth diversion of the third day of the *Pentamerone*. There is also a faint echo in Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, No. 55, pp. 359-362. Compare also No. 72 (b) in the *Novellæ Morluni* (Liebrecht's Dunlop, p. 497). Fuller details of the Italian variants can be found in A. C. Lee's *The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*, 1909, pp. 261-266. No. 69 of the Continental *Gesta Romanorum* begins with the story of a shirt of chastity. Three soldiers attempt to make it dirty, thereby showing the man's wife has been untrue—with the usual result. In the English *Gesta* (Herriage 25) three knights are killed. The best English version, however, is found in the metrical tale of "The Wright's Chaste Wife," Adam of Cobham, circa 1462. (See Furnivall, English Text Society, 1865.) In this story a garland is the article of chastity, the gallants fall through a trap-door and are made to spin flax until the husband returns. Massinger's play of 1630, *The Picture*, may be taken from the above. (See Clouston, *Popular Tales*, vol. ii, p. 292.)

In the story of the "Mastermaid" in Dasent, *Tales from the Norse* (2nd edition, p. 81 *et seq.*), a woman with magical knowledge consents to receive three constables on consecutive nights. On each man she employs her magic, making them do some foolish thing from which they are unable to get free till the dawn.

An Icelandic variant is found in Powell and Magnusson's (2nd series) collection, entitled "Story of Geirlaug and Groedari."

Finally in Portugal there is a variant in the sixty-seventh story in Coelho's *Contos Populares Portugueses*, 1879.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER V

HAVING said this, Vararuchi continued his tale as [MI] follows :—

1. *Story of Vararuchi . . .*

In course of time Yogananda became enslaved by his passions, and like a mad elephant he disregarded every restraint. Whom will not a sudden access of prosperity intoxicate ? Then I reflected with myself : “ The king has burst all bonds, and my own religious duties are neglected, being interfered with by my care for his affairs, therefore it is better for me to draw out that Sakatāla from his dungeon and make him my colleague in the ministry ; even if he tries to oppose me, what harm can he do as long as I am in office ? ” Having resolved on this, I asked permission of the king, and drew Sakatāla out of the deep dungeon. Brāhmans are always soft-hearted. Now the discreet Sakatāla made up his mind that it would be difficult to overthrow Yogananda as long as I was in office, and that he had accordingly better imitate the cane which bends with the current, and watch a favourable moment for vengeance, so at my request he resumed the office of minister and managed the king’s affairs.

Once on a time Yogananda went outside the city, and beheld in the middle of the Ganges a hand, the five fingers of which were closely pressed together. That moment he summoned me and said : “ What does this mean ? ” But I displayed two of my fingers in the direction of the hand. Thereupon that hand disappeared, and the king, exceedingly astonished, again asked me what this meant, and I answered him : “ That hand meant to say, by showing its five fingers : ‘ What cannot five men united effect in this world ? ’ Then I, king, showed it these two fingers, wishing to indicate that nothing is impossible when even two men are of one mind.”

When I uttered this solution of the riddle the king was delighted, and Sakatāla was despondent, seeing that my intellect would be difficult to circumvent.¹

One day Yogananda saw his queen leaning out of the window and asking questions of a Brāhmaṇa guest that was looking up. That trivial circumstance threw the king into *The Fish that Laughed* a passion, and he gave orders that the Brāhmaṇa should be put to death · for jealousy interferes with discernment. Then as that Brāhmaṇa was being led off to the place of execution in order that he might be put to death, a fish in the market laughed aloud, though it was dead.²

¹ This language of signs occurs two or three times in the present work (see Chapters VII, LXXV). It is found in the *Nights* and other Eastern collections. I shall have more to say on the subject in a future note —N.M.P.

² Dr Liebrecht in *Orient und Occident*, vol. i, p. 341, compares with this story one in the old French romance of Merlin. There Merlin laughs because the wife of the Emperor Julius Caesar had twelve young men disguised as ladies-in-waiting. Benfey, in a note on Dr Liebrecht's article, compares with the story of Merlin one by the Countess D'Aulnoy, No. 36 of the *Pentamerone* of Basile, *Straparola*, iv, 1, and a story in the *Suka Saptati*.—

In the tale from *Straparola* (see translation by W. G. Waters, London, 1894, vol. i, p. 177) it is a wild satyr, named Chiappino, who laughs—twice. First because the hero is called Constanzo, when really she is a woman disguised and should be called Constanza. The second laugh was for exactly the same reason as in our story. The reference to the *Pentamerone* story of "The Three Crowns" (Burton, vol. ii, p. 404 *et seq.*) by Benfey is quite inappropriate, as it merely deals with a case of a woman's love scorned by a man who, when accused of attempted seduction, proves to be a woman. The version in *Suka Saptati* is very like our text, and the laugh is even more mysterious and ironical than that in the *Ocean of Story*, because it shows the double hypocrisy of the queen, and the fish is not only dead, but cooked: "King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī dines with his beloved wife Kāmalilā. He offers her roast fish, and she declines: 'My lord, I am unable to look at these men, much less to take hold of them.' When the fish heard that they, fried as they were, broke into peals of laughter, so that the people of the city heard it." In this case the final exposure of the queen is brought about in a very intricate way by the wise maiden Bālapanditā. The same story appears, even more elaborately, in Knowles' *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, 1888, p. 484 *et seq.* It appears in Jacobi's *Indian Fairy Tales*, 1892, p. 186 *et seq.*; and also in Bompas' *Folk-Lore of the Santal Parganas*, 1909, p. 70 *et seq.* In the former the "guessing riddles" motif is introduced into the story, while in the latter there are two laughing fish. Professor Bloomfield (*Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 1916, vol. xxxvi, pp. 54-89),

The king hearing it immediately prohibited for the present the execution of that Brâhman, and asked me the reason why the fish laughed. I replied that I would tell him after I had thought over the matter; and after I had gone out Sarasvati came to me secretly on my thinking of her and gave me this advice : "Take up a position on the top of this palm-tree at night so as not to be observed, and thou shalt without doubt hear the reason why the fish laughed." Hearing this I went at night to that very place, and ensconced

in his paper, "Psychic *Motif's* in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry *Motif*," has classified the various kinds of laughs occurring in Hindu fiction. There is the cry and laugh together, and each separately. Of laughter by itself, as in our text, there is the laugh of joy, of irony, malice, trickery and triumph. Then there is the sardonic laugh, the enigmatic, fateful laugh (sometimes with ironic humour in it), and finally there is the laugh of mystery, as in the case of the fish that laughed. Examples from Hindu fiction of all these varieties will be found in Bloomfield's article. In England we have the expression, "enough to make a cat laugh," but imagine anything being so funny or curious as to raise a laugh from the coldest-blooded of animals—a fish, and that a dead one!

In one case, however, in *Prabandhacintâmani* (see Tawney's fine translation, *Bib. Indica*, 1899, p. 15) the fish is not dead, but has just been thrown up by the waves. When the king demands an explanation it is given as follows:—"In a former life, as a poor wood-carrier, you used to come to eat your humble meat at the bank of this very river. One time you saw walking in front of you a Jaina hermit who had come to break a month's fast. So you called him and gave him the ball of meat that you had made. From the surpassing merit of that act you have become King Câlivâhana. The hermit has become a god. That god entered into the fish and laughed for joy at beholding the soul of the wood-carrier, which is none other than yourself, born in the rank of a king" (See Tawney's note on p. 208 of his translation, where he refers to a similar tale in the *Prabandhakośa*.)

Smuggling men into the harem is a favourite *motif* of Eastern tales. One of the best-known cases occurs at the beginning of the *Nights* (Burton, vol. i, pp. 6 and 9) in "The Story of King Shahryar and his Brother," where the brother sees the queen enter a garden with twenty slave-girls: ". . . they advanced a little way into the garden till they came to a jetting fountain amiddlemost a great basin of water; then they stripped off their clothes and behold, ten of them were women, concubines of the king, and the other ten were white slaves." (See also "The Reeve's Tale" on p. 282 of the same volume.)

In ancient India the smuggling of men into harems seems to have been brought to a fine art, if we may judge from the sixth chapter of

myself on the top of the palm-tree, and saw a terrible female Rākshasa¹ coming past with her children ; when they asked her for food, she said : "Wait, and I will give you to-morrow morning the flesh of a Brāhmaṇa ; he was not killed to-day."² They said to their mother : "Why was he not killed to-day ?" Then she replied : "He was not executed because a fish in the town, though dead, laughed when it saw him." The sons said : "Why did the fish laugh ?" She continued : "The fish, of course, said to himself : 'All the king's wives are dissolute, for in every part of this harem there are men dressed up as women, and nevertheless while these escape an innocent Brāhmaṇa is to be put to death,' and this tickled

Part V of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtra*. Instructions are given as to the best way for entrance and exit, and by what means the Palace guards can be bribed or avoided. It is suggested that besides getting into the harem in women's clothes the lover can sometimes gain entrance disguised as a watchman, or may be taken in or out rolled in a bed or curtain cloth. After showing the utter depravity of both the women, their lovers and guards, Vātsyāyana ends the chapter by saying the information given is merely for the good of men to enable them to protect their own wives against any such deceits!—N.M.P.

¹ For details of these demons see Appendix I at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

² Cf. the following passage in a Danish story called "Svend's Exploits," in Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, p. 341. Just as he was going to sleep, twelve crows came flying and perched in the elder-trees over Svend's head. They began to converse together, and the one told the other what had happened to him that day. When they were about to fly away, one crow said : "I am so hungry ; where shall I get something to eat ?" "We shall have food enough to-morrow when father has killed Svend," answered the crow's brother. "Dost thou think then that such a miserable fellow dares fight with our father ?" said another. "Yes, it is probable enough that he will, but it will not profit him much, as our father cannot be overcome but with the Man of the Mount's sword, and that hangs in the mound, within seven locked doors, before each of which are two fierce dogs that never sleep." Svend thus learns that he should only be sacrificing his strength and life in attempting a combat with the dragon before he had made himself master of the Man of the Mount's sword.

So Sigfrid hears two birds talking above his head in Hagen's *Helden-Sagen*, vol. i, p. 345.—See also the story of Lalitāṅga, in which the cunning of Vararuchi is referred to, in Tawney, *Kathākoṣa*, p. 164, and Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of Pāṛṇavāñṭhā*, pp. 26, 31, 186 and 187. I shall have more to say on this motif of "overhearing" in a note in Vol. III, Chapter XXIX.—N.M.P.

the fish so that he laughed. For demons assume these disguises, insinuating themselves into everything, and laughing at the exceeding want of discernment of kings." After I had heard that speech of the female Rākshasa I went away from thence, and in the morning I informed the king why the fish laughed. The king, after detecting in the harem those men clothed as women, looked upon me with great respect, and released that Brāhmaṇ from the sentence of death.

I was disgusted by seeing this and other lawless proceedings on the part of the king, and while I was in this frame of mind there came to the Court a new painter. He painted *The Mole on the Queen's Body* on a sheet of canvas the principal queen and Yogananda, and that picture of his looked as if it were alive; it only lacked speech and motion. And the king, being delighted, loaded that painter with wealth, and had the painting set up on a wall in his private apartments. Now one day when I entered into the king's private apartments it occurred to me that the painting of the queen did not represent all her auspicious marks; from the arrangement of the other marks I conjectured by means of my acuteness that there ought to be a spot where the girdle comes, and I painted one there. Then I departed after thus giving the queen all her lucky marks. Then Yogananda entered and saw that spot, and asked his chamberlains who had painted it. And they indicated me as the person who had painted it. Yogananda thus reflected while burning with anger: "No one except myself knows of that spot, which is in a part of the queen's body usually concealed, then how can this Vararuchi have come thus to know it?"¹ No

¹ Compare the "mole cinque-spotted" in *Cymbeline*.—

The attraction of the mole has always been fully recognised in the East. Indian, Persian and Arabic fiction abound in beautiful and often exaggerated similes. The mole is likened to a crumb of ambergris, a spot of nut-brown musk, or to an ant creeping on the cheek towards the honey of the mouth. It is well known that Hafiz offered (had they been his) to give away both Samarkand and Bokhara for a single mole on his beloved's face.

So great is the admiration for moles that professional tattooists do a large trade in artificially producing them. In India it is usually done by low-caste wandering gypsies or members of the Nāī, or barber caste. They insert the point of a needle under the epidermis and introduce the juice of a plant which

doubt he has secretly corrupted my harem, and this is how he came to see there those men disguised as women." Foolish men often find such coincidences.¹ Then of his own motion he summoned Sakatāla, and gave him the following order :— " You must put Vararuchi to death for seducing the queen." Sakatāla said : " Your Majesty's orders shall be executed," and went out of the palace, reflecting : " I should not have power to put Vararuchi to death, for he possesses god-like force of intellect ; and he delivered me from calamity ; moreover he is a Brāhman ; therefore I had better hide him and win him over to my side." Having formed this resolution, he came and told me of the king's causeless wrath which had ended in his ordering my execution, and thus concluded : " I will have someone else put to death in order that the news may get abroad, and do you remain hidden in my house to protect me from this passionate king." In accordance with this proposal of his, I remained concealed in his house, and he had someone else put to death at night, in order that the report of my death might be spread.² When he had in this way displayed his statecraft, I said to him out of affection : " You have shown yourself an unrivalled minister in that you did not attempt to put me to death ; for I cannot be slain, since I have a Rākshasa to friend, and he will come, on being only thought of, and at my request will devour the whole world. As for this king, he is a friend of mine, being a Brāhman named Indradatta, and he ought not to be slain." Hearing this, that minister said : " Show me the Rākshasa." Then I showed him that Rākshasa who came with a thought ; and on beholding him Sakatāla was astonished and terrified. And when the Rākshasa had disappeared Sakatāla again asked me : " How did the Rākshasa become your friend ? " Then I said :

soon dries into an indelible dark spot. The usual places chosen are between the eyebrows, below the under lip, and on the cheek, breast and forearms. In Bengal the process is called *Ulki* or *Godānī*.—N.M.P.

¹ See Sir G. Grierson's article, "Vararuchi as a Guesser of Acrostics," in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1881, vol. x, pp. 366-370. He gives a much more elaborate version of this part of the story, which he heard from a Tirhutī Brāhman. It was known as "The Story of Sasemirū."—N.M.P.

² Compare *Measure for Measure*.

"Long ago the heads of the police, as they went through the city night after night on inspecting duty, perished one by one. On hearing that, Yogananda made me head of the police, and as I was on my rounds at night I saw a Rākshasa roaming about, and he said to me : 'Tell me, who is considered the best-looking woman in this city ?' When I heard that I burst out laughing, and said : 'You fool, any woman is good-looking to the man who admires her.' Hearing my answer, he said : 'You are the only man that has beaten me.' And now that I had escaped death by solving his riddle,¹ he again said to me : 'I am pleased with you; henceforth you are my friend, and I will appear to you when you call me to mind.' Thus he spoke and disappeared, and I returned by the way that I came. Thus the Rākshasa has become my friend, and my ally in trouble." When I had said this, Sakatāla made a second request to me, and I showed him the goddess of the Ganges in human form who came when I thought of her. And that goddess disappeared when she had been gratified by me with hymns of praise. But Sakatāla became from henceforth my obedient ally.

Now once on a time that minister said to me when my state of concealment weighed upon my spirits : "Why do you, although you know all things, abandon yourself to despondency ? Do you not know that the minds of kings are most undiscerning, and in a short time you will be cleared from all imputations ?² In proof of which listen to the following tale :—

1c. *Sivavarmān*

There reigned here long ago a king named Ādityavarman, and he had a very wise minister, named Sivavarmān.

¹ Cf. the story of *Oedipus* and the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparva*, chap. ccxii), where Yudhiṣṭhīra is questioned by a Yaksha. Benfey compares *Mahābhārata* xiii (iv, 206), 5883-5918, where a Brāhmaṇa seized by a Rākshasa escaped in the same way. The reader will find similar questioning demons described in Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, pp. 54-56, and 109.

² Reading *chuddhis* for the *chudis* of Dr Brockhaus' text.

Now it came to pass that one of that king's queens became pregnant, and when he found it out, the king said to the guards of the harem : "It is now two years since I entered this place, then how has this queen become pregnant ? Tell me." Then they said : "No man except your minister Sivavarman is allowed to enter here, but he enters without any restriction." When he heard that, the king thought : "Surely he is guilty of treason against me, and yet if I put him to death publicly I shall incur reproach." Thus reflecting, that king sent that Sivavarman on some pretext to Bhogavarman, a neighbouring chief,¹ who was an ally of his, and immediately afterwards the king secretly sent off a messenger to the same chief, bearing a letter by which he was ordered to put the minister to death.² When a week had elapsed after the minister's departure, that queen tried to escape out of fear, and was taken by the guards with a man in woman's attire. Then Ādityavarman when he heard of it was filled with remorse, and asked himself why he had causelessly brought about the death of so excellent a minister. In the meanwhile Sivavarman reached the Court of Bhogavarman, and that messenger came bringing the letter; and fate would have it so that after Bhogavarman had read the letter he told to Sivavarman in secret the order he had received to put him to death.

The excellent minister Sivavarman in his turn said to that chief : "Put me to death ; if you do not, I will slay myself with my own hand." When he heard that, Bhogavarman was filled with wonder, and said to him : "What does all this mean ? Tell me, Brāhmaṇa ; if you do not, you will lie under my curse." Then the minister said to him : "King, in whatever land I am slain, on that land God will not send rain for twelve years." When he heard that, Bhogavarman debated with his minister : "That wicked king desires the

¹ Sāmanta seems to mean a feudatory or dependent prince.

² Much could be written on the "letter of death" motif in fiction. I shall have more to say in Chapter XLII, where such a letter occurs again. Widely distributed throughout the East, the "letter of death" appeared in Europe about the twelfth century.—N.M.P.

destruction of our land, for could he not have employed secret assassins to kill his minister ? So we must not put this minister to death. Moreover, we must prevent him from laying violent hands on himself." Having thus deliberated and appointed him guards, Bhogavarman sent Śivavarman out of his country that moment ; so that minister by means of his wisdom returned alive, and his innocence was established from another quarter, for righteousness cannot be undone. In the same way your innocence will be made clear, Kātyāyana¹; remain for a while in my house ; this king too will repent of what he has done.

1. Story of Vararuchi . . .

When Sakatāla said this to me, I spent those days concealed in his house.

Then it came to pass that one day, O Kāñabhbūti, a son of that Yogananda named Hiranyagupta went out hunting, and when he had somehow or other been carried to a great *Hiranyagupta* distance by the speed of his horse, while he was *and the Bear* alone in the wood, the day came to an end ; and then he ascended a tree to pass the night. Immediately afterwards a bear, which had been terrified by a lion, ascended the same tree ; he seeing the prince frightened, said to him with a human voice : " Fear not, thou art my friend," and thus promised him immunity from harm. Then the prince, confiding in the bear's promise, went to sleep, while the bear remained awake. Then the lion below said to the bear : " Bear, throw me down this man and I will go away." Then the bear said : " Villain, I will not cause the death of a friend." When in course of time the bear went to sleep while the prince was awake, the lion said again : " Man, throw me down the bear." When he heard that, the prince, who through fear for his own safety wished to propitiate the lion, tried to throw down the bear, but, wonderful to say, it did not fall, since fate caused it to awake. And then that bear said to the prince : " Become insane, thou betrayer of thy

¹ Readers should not forget that when Pushpadanta descended to earth by Pārvati's curse his name was changed to Vararuchi and Kātyāyana.—N.M.P.

friend,"¹ laying upon him a curse destined not to end until a third person guessed the whole transaction. Accordingly the prince, when he reached his palace in the morning, went out of his mind, and Yogananda seeing it was immediately plunged in despondency, and said. "If Vararuchi were alive at this moment all this matter would be known; curse on my readiness to have him put to death!" Sakatāla, when he heard this exclamation of the king's, thought to himself: "Ha! here is an opportunity obtained for bringing Kātyāyana out of concealment, and he, being a proud man, will not remain here, and the king will repose confidence in me." After reflecting thus, he implored pardon, and said to the king: "O King, cease from despondency; Vararuchi remains alive." Then Yogananda said: "Let him be brought quickly." Then I was suddenly brought by Sakatāla into the presence of Yogananda and beheld the prince in that state; and by the favour of Sarasvatī I was enabled to reveal the whole occurrence; and I said: "King, he has proved a traitor to his friend." Then I was praised by that prince who was delivered from his curse; and the king asked me how I had managed to find out what had taken place. Then I said: "King, the minds of the wise see everything by inference from signs, and by acuteness of intellect. So I found out all this in the same way as I found out that mole." When I had said this, that king was afflicted with shame. Then, without accepting his munificence, considering myself to have gained all I desired by the clearing of my reputation, I went home; for to the wise character is wealth. And the moment I arrived the servants of my house wept before me, and when I was distressed at it Upavarsha came to me and said: "Upakosā, when she heard that the king had put you to death, committed her body to the flames,² and then your

¹ Benfey considers that this story was originally Buddhistic. A very similar story is quoted by him from the *Karmasatka* (*Pañchatantra*, i, p. 209); cf. also Chapter LXV of this work.

² This is the well-known *suttee* (an English corruption from the Sanskrit *sati* = "good woman"). It dates from about the fourth century B.C. By the sixth century A.D. it grew to have a full religious sanction, although it was not universal throughout India. In about the tenth to fifteenth centuries it was chiefly a Brāhminic rite. The manner of sacrifice differs in various

mother's heart broke with grief." Hearing that, senseless with the distraction produced by recently aroused grief, I suddenly fell on the ground like a tree broken by the wind ; and in a moment I tasted the relief of loud lamentations. Whom will not the fire of grief, produced by the loss of dear relations, scorch ? Varsha came and gave me sound advice in such words as these : "The only thing that is stable in this ever-changeful world is instability ; then why are you distracted though you know this delusion of the Creator ?" By the help of these and similar exhortations I at length, though with difficulty, regained my equanimity ; then, with heart disgusted with the world, I flung aside all earthly lords and, choosing self-restraint for my only companion, I went to a grove where asceticism was practised.

Then, as days went by, once on a time a Brāhmaṇ from Ayodhyā came to that ascetic grove while I was there. I asked him for tidings about Yogananda's government, and he recognising me told me in sorrowful accents the following story :—

"Hear what happened to Nanda after you had left him. Sakatāla, after waiting for it a long time, found that he had now obtained an opportunity of injuring him. While thinking how he might by some device get Yogananda killed, he happened to see a Brāhmaṇ named Chāṇakya digging up the earth in his path. He said to him : 'Why are you digging up the earth ?' The Brāhmaṇ whom he had asked said : 'I am rooting up a plant of *darbha* grass here because it has pricked my foot.' When he heard that, the minister thought that districts. Under British rule *suttee* became illegal in 1829. I shall have more to say on the subject in a later volume.—N.M.P.

¹ Probably his foot bled, and so he contracted defilement. *Darbha* grass is the most sacred of the various kinds of grasses (*kuṣa*, *dūrvā*, etc.) held in special veneration. The origin of *darbha* grass is explained in numerous legends. It is said to have been formed from the hairs of Vishṇu which came off while, in his tortoise incarnation, he was acting as a pivot for Mount Mandara at the Churning of the Ocean. Another story relates that while the gods were drinking the Amṛita after the Churning a few drops fell on the grass and thus made it sacred. It enters into nearly all important ceremonies among the Hindus. It is used in the famous "sacred thread" (*upanayana*) ceremony, at weddings, in offering up prayers or invoking deities, at funerals, at a *śrāddha* (see next note),

Brāhmaṇ who formed such stern resolves out of anger would be the best instrument to destroy Nanda with. After asking his name he said to him : ‘ Brāhmaṇ, I assign to you the duty of presiding at a śrāddha¹ on the thirteenth day of the lunar at sacrifices, and at numerous other ceremonies connected with initiation, magic, pregnancy, menses, and different forms of ordeals.

With regard to its literary history, it is mentioned in the *Rig-Veda* (i. 191, 3) with śara and kuśara grasses; in the *Atharva Veda* (in numerous places), where it is a charm against anger, baldness, etc. (See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 340.)

In appearance *darbha* grass is straight and pointed, about two feet in height, very rough to handle, and instantly draws blood if rubbed the wrong way by the hand or foot (as in our text).—N.M.P.

¹ Śrāddha (Sanskrit, śraddhā = faith, trust, belief) is the most important ceremony connected with Hindu ancestor-worship. It is a development of the ancient custom of eating at funerals and providing food for the dead. Manu (*Institutes*, iii, 267-271) gives a detailed list of the offerings of food and drink which are to be made, with regulations for the correct ritual to be observed. The modern śrāddha is most intricate and elaborate. It has been described by nearly every Indian scholar since the days of Dubois and Colebrooke. The most recent and comprehensive account is in Mrs Sinclair Stevenson's *The Rites of the Twice-born*, 1920, pp. 158-192. See also the article, “Ancestor-Worship (Indian),” by W. Crooke, in *Hastings' Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. i, p. 453, and Sir Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 3 vols., 1921, vol. i, pp. 338, 339.

Space will not permit any detailed account here of the various rites performed on the different days. I shall merely describe shortly the rite of feeding the spirit which extends for ten days, from the second onwards, as described by Crooke (*op. cit.*). Grains of rice (for Brāhmaṇs) or barley-flour (for Kshatriyas and illegitimate sons of Brāhmaṇs) are boiled in a copper jar, mixed with honey, milk and sesamum. The mixture is made into a ball (*piṇḍa*), which is offered to the spirit with the invocation that it may obtain liberation, and reach the abodes of the blessed after crossing the hell called Raurava (Manu, *Institutes*, iv, 88). By this rite the creation of a new body for the disembodied soul begins. On the first day one ball is offered, on the second two, and so on until, during the observances of the ten days, fifty-five balls have been offered. Various invocations are made, for which see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, v, 297. By these ten days' rites the spirit has been enabled to escape from the same number of different hells, and gradually a new body with all its members has been created. The order in which the new members of this new body are formed is sometimes thus defined. On the first day the dead man gains his head; on the second his ears, eyes and nose; on the third his hands, breast and neck; on the fourth his middle parts; on the fifth his legs and feet; on the sixth his vital organs; on the seventh his bones, marrow, veins and arteries; on the eighth his nails, hair and teeth; on the ninth all remaining limbs and organs and his manly strength.—N.M.P.

fortnight, in the house of King Nanda ; you shall have one hundred thousand gold pieces by way of fee, and you shall sit at the board above all others ; in the meanwhile come to my house.' Saying this, Sakatāla took that Brāhmaṇ to his house, and on the day of the *śrāddha* he showed the Brāhmaṇ to the king, and he approved of him. Then Chāṇakya went and sat at the head of the table during the *śrāddha*, but a Brāhmaṇ named Subandhu desired that post of honour for himself. Then Sakatāla went and referred the matter to King Nanda, who answered : ' Let Subandhu sit at the head of the table ; no one else deserves the place.' Then Sakatāla went and, humbly bowing through fear, communicated that order of the king's to Chāṇakya, adding : ' It is not my fault.' Then that Chāṇakya, being, as it were, inflamed all over with wrath, undoing the lock of hair on the crown of his head, made this solemn vow : ' Surely this Nanda must be destroyed by me within seven days, and then my anger being appeased I will bind up my lock.'¹ When he had said this, Yogananda was enraged ; so Chāṇakya escaped unobserved and Sakatāla gave him refuge in his house. Then, being supplied by Sakatāla with the necessary instruments, that Brāhmaṇ Chāṇakya went somewhere and performed a magic rite ; in consequence of this rite Yogananda caught a burning fever, and died when the seventh day arrived ; and Sakatāla, having slain Nanda's son Hiranyakupta, bestowed the royal dignity upon Chandragupta, a son of the previous Nanda. And after he had requested Chāṇakya, equal in ability to Bṛihaspati,² to be Chandragupta's prime minister and established him in the office, that minister, considering that all his objects had been accomplished, as he had wreaked his vengeance on Yogananda, despondent through sorrow for the death of his sons, retired to the forest."³

¹ The innumerable methods recorded of swearing an oath would take a volume to describe in detail. The most comprehensive account I know is that in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. and Eth.*, vol. ix, p. 430 *et seq.*, under "Oath." The article is by Crawley, Beet and Canney.—N.M.P.

² The preceptor of the gods.

³ See the *Mudrā Rākshasa* for another version of this story (Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, vol. ii). Wilson remarks that the story is also told differently in the *Purāṇas*.

After I had heard this, O Kāñabhuṭi, from the mouth of that Brāhmaṇa, I became exceedingly afflicted, seeing that all things are unstable ; and on account of my affliction I came to visit this shrine of Durgā, and through her favour having beheld you, O my friend, I have remembered my former birth.

And having obtained divine discernment I have told you the great tale. Now, as my curse has spent its strength, I will strive to leave the body ; and do you remain here for the present, until there comes to you a Brāhmaṇa named Guṇāḍhya, who has forsaken the use of three languages,¹ surrounded with his pupils, for he like myself was cursed by the goddess in anger, being an excellent Gaṇa, Mālyavān by name, who for taking my part has become a mortal. To him you must tell this tale originally told by Siva, then you shall be delivered from your curse, and so shall he.

[MII] Having said all this to Kāñabhuṭi, that Vararuchi set forth for the holy hermitage of Badarikā in order to put off his body. As he was going along he beheld on the banks of the Ganges a vegetable-eating² hermit, and while he was looking on, that hermit's hand was pricked with *kuṣa* grass. Then Vararuchi turned his blood, as it flowed out, into sap³ through his magic power, out of curiosity, in order to test his egotism ; on beholding that, the hermit exclaimed : " Ha ! I have attained perfection " ; and so he became puffed up with pride. Then Vararuchi laughed a little and said to him : " I turned your blood into sap in order to test you, because even now, O hermit, you have not abandoned egotism. Egotism is in truth an obstacle in the road to knowledge hard to overcome, and without knowledge liberation

¹ Sanskrit, Prakrit and his own native dialect.

² I change Dr Brockhaus' *Śakāśana* into *Sākaśana*.—Durgāprasād's edition of the text now proves Tawney's reading correct.—N.M.P.

³ As, according to my reading, he ate vegetables, his blood was turned into the juice of vegetables. Dr Brockhaus translates : " machte, dass das herausströmende Blut zu Krystallen sich bildete."

cannot be attained even by a hundred vows. But the perishable joys of Svarga cannot attract the hearts of those who long for liberation; therefore, O hermit, endeavour to acquire knowledge by forsaking egotism.” Having thus read that hermit a lesson, and having been praised by him prostrate in adoration, Vararuchi went to the tranquil site of the hermitage of Badarī.¹ There he, desirous of putting off his mortal condition, resorted for protection with intense devotion to that goddess who only can protect, and she, manifesting her real form to him, told him the secret of that meditation which arises from fire, to help him to put off the body. Then Vararuchi, having consumed his body by that form of meditation, reached his own heavenly home; and henceforth that Kānabhūti remained in the Vindhya forest, eager for his desired meeting with Guṇāḍhya.

¹ A celebrated place of pilgrimage near the source of the Ganges, the Bhadrinath of modern travellers.—*Monier Williams*, s.v.

CHAPTER VI

THEN that Mālyavān wandering about in the wood [MI] in human form, passing under the name of Guṇāḍhya, having served the King Sātavāhana, and having, in accordance with a vow, abandoned in his presence the use of Sanskrit and two other languages, with sorrowful mind came to pay a visit to Durgā, the dweller in the Vindhya hills ; and by her orders he went and beheld Kāṇabhūti. Then he remembered his origin and suddenly, as it were, awoke from sleep ; and making use of the Paiśācha language, which was different from the three languages he had sworn to forsake, he said to Kāṇabhūti, after telling him his own name : “ Quickly tell me that tale which you heard from Pushpadanta, in order that you and I together, my friend, may escape from our curse.” Hearing that, Kāṇabhūti bowed before him, and said to him in joyful mood : “ I will tell you the story, but great curiosity possesses me, my lord ; first tell me all your adventures from your birth; do me this favour.” Thus being entreated by him, Guṇāḍhya proceeded to relate as follows :—

2. *Story of Guṇāḍhya*

In Pratishṭhāna¹ there is a city named Supratishṭhita ; in it there dwelt once upon a time an excellent Brāhmaṇ named Somaśarman, and he, my friend, had two sons, Vatsa and Gulma, and he had also born to him a third child, a daughter named Srutārthā. Now in course of time that

¹ Pratishṭhāna [the modern Paithān] is celebrated as the capital of Śalivāhana [a late form of Sātavāhana]. It is identifiable with Peytan on the Godāvari, the Bathana or Paithana of Ptolemy, the capital of Siripolemaios. Wilson identifies this name with Śalivāhana, but Dr Rost remarks that Lassen more correctly identifies it with that of Śri Pulimān [Pulumāyi] of the Andhra Dynasty, who reigned at Pratishṭhāna after the overthrow of the house of Śalivāhana about 130 A.D.

Brāhmaṇ and his wife died, and those two sons of his remained, taking care of their sister. And she suddenly became pregnant. Then Vatsa and Gulma began to suspect one another, because no other man came in their sister's way : thereupon Śrutarthā, who saw what was in their minds, said to those brothers : " Do not entertain evil suspicions : listen, I will tell you the truth. There is a prince of the name of Kirtisena, brother's son to Vāsuki, the king of the Nāgas¹ ; he saw me when I was going to bathe, thereupon he was overcome with love, and after telling me his lineage and his name, made me his wife by the *gāndharva* marriage² ; he belongs to the Brāhmaṇ race, and it is by him that I am pregnant." When they heard this speech of their sister's, Vatsa and Gulma said : " What confidence can we repose in all this ? " Then she silently called to mind that Nāga prince, and immediately he was thought upon he came and said to Vatsa and Gulma : " In truth I have made your sister my wife. She is a glorious heavenly nymph fallen down to earth in consequence of a curse, and you, too, have descended to earth for the same reason ; but a son shall without fail be born to your sister here, and then you and she together shall be freed from your curse." Having said this, he disappeared, and in a few days from that time a son was born to Śrutarthā. Know me, my friend, as that son.³ At that very time a divine voice was heard from heaven : " This child that is born is an incarnation of virtue,⁴ and he shall be called Guṇādhya,⁵ and is of the Brāhmaṇ caste." Thereupon my mother and uncles, as their curse had spent its force, died, and I for my part became inconsolable. Then I flung aside my grief, and though a child I went in the strength of my self-reliance to the Deccan to acquire knowledge. Then, having in course of time learned all the sciences, and become famous, I returned

¹ For details of these serpent-demons see Appendix I at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

² For a note on this form of marriage see pp. 87, 88.—N.M.P.

³ It seems to me that *tvam* in Dr Brockhaus' text must be a misprint for *tam*.

⁴ Here Brockhaus has confounded *guna* and *gaya*. Durgāprasād's text has the correct word, thus the translation should be : " an incarnation of one of his *gatas*."—N.M.P.

⁵ I.e. rich in virtues and good qualities.

to my native land to exhibit my accomplishments ; and when I entered after a long absence into the city of Supratishthita, surrounded by my disciples, I saw a wonderfully splendid scene. In one place chanters were intoning according to prescribed custom the hymns of the Sāma Veda ; in another place Brāhmans were disputing about the interpretation of the sacred books ; in another place gamblers were praising gambling in these deceitful words : “Whoever knows the art of gambling has a treasure in his grasp” ; and in another place, in the midst of a knot of merchants, who were talking to one another about their skill in the art of making money, a certain merchant spoke as follows :—

2A. *The Mouse Merchant*¹

“ It is not very wonderful that a thrifty man should acquire wealth by wealth ; but I long ago achieved prosperity without any wealth to start with. My father died before I was born, and then my mother was deprived by wicked relations of all she possessed. Then she fled through fear of them, watching over the safety of her unborn child, and dwelt in the house of Kumāradatta, a friend of my father’s, and there the virtuous woman gave birth to me, who was destined to be the means of her future maintenance ; and so she reared me^{up} by performing menial drudgery. And as she was so poor, she persuaded a teacher by way of charity to give me some instruction in writing and ciphering.² Then she said to me : ‘ You are the son of a merchant, so you must now engage in trade, and there is a very rich merchant in this country called Viśākhila ; he is in the habit of lending capital to poor men of good family ; go and entreat him to give you something to start with.’ Then I went to his house, and he, at the very moment I entered, said in a rage to some

¹ For comparison see the *Cullaka-Setthi-Jātaka* (No. 4 Cambridge Edition, vol. i, pp. 14-20), also *Kalilah and Dimnah*, chap. xviii (Knatchbull, p. 358).—N.M.P.

² Durgāprasād’s text takes *tayākipcanyadīnayā* in one word, making better sense : “she, deserving compassion because of her poverty, persuaded . . . etc.”—N.M.P.

merchant's son : ' You see this dead mouse here upon the floor, even that is a commodity by which a capable man would acquire wealth, but I gave you, you good-for-nothing fellow, many *dīnārs*,¹ and so far from increasing them, you have not even been able to preserve what you got.' When I heard that, I suddenly said to that Viśākhila : ' I hereby take from you that mouse as capital advanced.' Saying this I took the mouse up in my hand, and wrote him a receipt for it, which he put in his strong-box, and off I went. The merchant for his part burst out laughing. Well, I sold that mouse to a certain merchant as cat's-meat for two handfuls of gram, then I ground up that gram and, taking a pitcher of water, I went and stood on the cross-road in a shady place, outside the city ; there I offered with the utmost civility the water and gram to a band of wood-cutters² ; every wood-cutter gave me as a token of gratitude two pieces of wood ; and I took those pieces of wood and sold them in the market ; then for a small part of the price which I got for them I bought a second supply of gram, and in the same way on a second day I obtained wood from the wood-cutters. Doing this every day I gradually acquired capital, and I bought from those wood-cutters all their wood for three days. Then suddenly there befell a dearth of wood on account of heavy rains, and I sold that wood for many hundred *pāṇas* ; with that wealth I set up a shop and, engaging in traffic, I have become a very wealthy man by my own ability. Then I made a mouse of gold and gave it to that Viśākhila ; then he gave me his daughter ; and in consequence of my history I

¹ From the Greek δηνάριον = *denarius* (Monier Williams, s.v.). *Dramma* = Greek δραχμὴ is used in the *Pañchatantra*. See Dr Bühler's *Notes to Pañchatantra*, iv and v; note on p. 40, I, 3.—The complicated and extensive history of the *dīnār* was thoroughly studied by the late Sir Henry Yule. Full details will be found in his new edition of *Cathay and the Way Thither*, revised in the light of recent research by Henri Cordier, Hakluyt Society, 4 vols., 1913-1916 (see vol. iv, pp. 54-62, and pp. 112, 113). In India the value of the *dīnār* continually changes with its locality. It is usually given as consisting of twenty-five *dirhems* and being worth 3s. 4·32d., or, according to another reckoning, 3s. 1·44d. Reference should also be made to Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, 2 vols., 1903 (see in Index under "Bezant"), and to the long note in Stein's *Rājataranginī*, vol. ii, pp. 808-328.—N.M.P.

² Literally wood-carriers.

am known in the world by the name of Mouse. So without a coin in the world I acquired this prosperity." All the other merchants then, when they heard this story, were astonished. How can the mind help being amazed at pictures without walls ? ¹

2B. *The Chanter of the Sāma Veda and the Courtesan*

In another place a Brāhmaṇa who had got eight gold *māshas*² as a present, a chanter of the Sāma Veda, received the following piece of advice from a man who was a bit of a *roué* :—" You get enough to live upon by your position as a Brāhmaṇa, so you ought now to employ this gold for the purpose of learning the way of the world in order that you may become a knowing fellow." The fool said : " Who will teach me ? " Thereupon the *roué* said to him : " This lady,³ named Chaturikā ; go to her house." The Brāhmaṇa said : " What am I to do there ? " The *roué* replied : " Give her gold, and in order to please her make use of some *sāma*."⁴ When he heard this, the chanter went quickly to the house of Chaturikā ; when he entered, the lady advanced to meet him and he took a seat. Then that Brāhmaṇa gave her the gold and faltered out the request : " Teach me now for this fee the way of the world." Thereupon the people who were there began to titter, and he, after reflecting a little, putting his hands together in the shape of a cow's ear, so that they formed a kind of pipe, began, like a stupid idiot, to chant with a shrill sound the Sāma Veda, so that all the *roués* in the house came together to see the fun ; and they said : " Whence has this jackal blundered in here ? Come, let us

¹ He had made money without capital, so his achievements are compared to pictures suspended in the air.

² Both *māsha* and *pāṇa* (mentioned above) are really ancient native Indian weights : 16 *māshas* = 1 *pāṇa*. As the *pāṇa* was usually of copper or silver, it seems probable that the gold *māsha* only exists in fiction. See E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum* (Andhra Dynasty), 1908, p. clxxviii.—N.M.P.

³ Courtesan.

⁴ The *vīja* or *roué* meant "conciliation," but the chanter of the Sāma Veda took it to mean "hymn."

quickly give him the half-moon¹ on his throat." Thereupon the Brāhmaṇa, supposing that the half-moon meant an arrow with a head of that shape, and afraid of having his head cut off, rushed out of the house, bellowing out : " I have learnt the way of the world." Then he went to the man who had sent him and told him the whole story. He replied : " When I told you to use *sāma* I meant coaxing and wheedling. What is the propriety of introducing the Veda in a matter of this kind ? The fact is, I suppose, that stupidity is engrained in a man who muddles his head with the Vedas." So he spoke, bursting with laughter all the while, and went off to the lady's house and said to her : " Give back to that two-legged cow his gold-fodder." So she, laughing, gave back the money, and when the Brāhmaṇa got it he went back to his house as happy as if he had been born again.

2. Story of *Guṇādhya*

Witnessing strange scenes of this kind at every step, I reached the palace of the king, which was like the Court of Indra. And then I entered it, with my pupils going before to herald my arrival, and saw the King Sātavāhana sitting in his hall of audience upon a jewelled throne, surrounded by his ministers, Śarvavarman and his colleagues, as Indra is by the gods. After I had blessed him and had taken a seat, and had been honoured by the king, Śarvavarman and the other ministers praised me in the following words :— " This man, O king, is famous upon the earth as skilled in all lore, and therefore his name *Guṇādhya*² is a true index of his nature." Sātavāhana, hearing me praised in this style by his ministers, was pleased with me, and immediately entertained me honourably, and appointed me to the office of Minister. Then I married a wife, and lived there comfortably, looking after the king's affairs and instructing my pupils.

Once, as I was roaming about at leisure on the banks

¹ *I.e.* seize him with curved hand, and fling him out neck and crop. The preceptor supposed them to mean a crescent-headed arrow.

² *I.e.* rich in accomplishments.

of the Godāvari out of curiosity, I beheld a garden called Devikṛiti, and seeing that it was an exceedingly pleasant garden, like an earthly Nandana,¹ I asked the gardener how it came there, and he said to me : " My lord, according to the story which we hear from old people, long ago there came here a certain Brāhmaṇ who observed a vow of silence and abstained from food ; he made this heavenly garden with a temple ; then all the Brāhmaṇs assembled here out of curiosity, and that Brāhmaṇ being persistently asked by them told his history :

2c. *The Magic Garden*

" " There is in this land a province called Bakakachchha, on the banks of the Narmadā ; in that district I was born as a Brāhmaṇ, and in former times no one gave me alms, as I was lazy as well as poor ; then in a fit of annoyance I quitted my house, being disgusted with life, and wandering round the holy places I came to visit the shrine of Durgā, the dweller in the Vindhya hills, and having beheld that goddess, I reflected : " People propitiate with animal offerings this giver of boons, but I will slay myself here, stupid beast that I am." Having formed this resolve, I took in hand a sword to cut off my head. Immediately that goddess, being propitious, herself said to me : " Son, thou art perfected, do not slay thyself, remain near me." Thus I obtained a boon from the goddess and attained divine nature. From that day forth my hunger and thirst disappeared ; then once on a time, as I was remaining there, that goddess herself said to me : " Go, my son, and plant in Pratishthāna a glorious garden." Thus speaking, she gave me, with her own hands, heavenly seed ; thereupon I came here and made this beautiful garden by means of her power ; and this garden you must keep in good order.' Having said this, he disappeared. In this

¹ Indra's pleasure-ground or Elysium. For a similar *Zaubergarten* see Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, p. 251, and note, 325 ; and Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, vol. i, p. 224. To this latter story there is a very close parallel in *Jātaka*, No. 220 (Fausböll, vol. ii, p. 188), where Sakko makes a garden for the Bodhisattva, who is threatened with death by the king if it is not done.

way this garden was made by the goddess long ago, my lord."

2. *Story of Gunādhya*

When I had heard from the gardener this signal manifestation of the favour of the goddess, I went home penetrated with wonder.

[MI] When Gunādhya had said this, Kāṇabhūti asked : " Why, my lord, was the king called Sātavāhana ? " Then Gunādhya said : " Listen, I will tell you the reason.

2D. *The History of Sātavāhana*

There was a king of great power named Dvīpikarṇi. He had a wife named Saktimati, whom he valued more than life, and once upon a time a snake bit her as she was sleeping in the garden. Thereupon she died, and that king, thinking only of her, though he had no son, took a vow of perpetual chastity. Then once upon a time the god of the moon-crest said to him in a dream : " While wandering in the forest thou shalt behold a boy mounted on a lion, take him and go home, he shall be thy son." Then the king woke up, and rejoiced, remembering that dream, and one day in his passion for the chase he went to a distant wood ; there in the middle of the day that king beheld on the bank of a lotus-lake a boy, splendid as the sun, riding on a lion¹ ; the lion, desiring to drink water, set down the boy, and then the king, remembering his dream, slew it with one arrow. The creature thereupon abandoned the form of a lion, and suddenly assumed the shape of a man. The king exclaimed : " Alas ! what means this ? Tell me." And then the man answered him : " O king, I am a Yaksha of the name of Sāta, an attendant upon the God of Wealth ; long ago I beheld the daughter of a Rishi bathing in the Ganges ; she too, when she beheld me, felt

¹ Owing to the scarcity of the lion in India, especially in the north, it appears little in folk-lore. There are, however, various references to the lion in the *Ocean of Story*. See Crooke, *Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 210. He refers to Tawney, but misprints p. 178 as 78.—N.M.P.

fallen into such a state, were utterly beside themselves to think what it could mean. Then I and Sarvavarman came at last to hear of the king's condition, and by that time the day was almost at an end. So perceiving that the king was still in an unsatisfactory condition, we immediately summoned a servant of the king named Rājahansa. And he, when asked by us about the state of the king's health, said this : "I never before in my life saw the king in such a state of depression : and the other queens told me with much indignation that he had been humiliated to-day by that superficial blue-stocking, the daughter of Vishṇuśakti." When Sarvavarman and I had heard this from the mouth of the king's servant, we fell into a state of despondency, and thus reflected in our dilemma : "If the king were afflicted with bodily disease we might introduce the physicians, but if his disease is mental it is impossible to find the cause of it. For there is no enemy in his country the thorns of which are destroyed, and these subjects are attached to him ; no dearth of any kind is to be seen ; so how can this sudden melancholy of the king's have arisen ?" After we had debated to this effect, the wise Sarvavarman said as follows :—"I know the cause : this king is distressed by sorrow for his own ignorance, for he is always expressing a desire for culture, saying, 'I am a blockhead.' I long ago detected this desire of his, and we have heard that the occasion of the present fit is his having been humiliated by the queen." Thus we debated with one another, and after we had passed that night, in the morning we went to the private apartments of the sovereign. There, though strict orders had been given that no one was to enter, I managed to get in with difficulty, and after me Sarvavarman slipped in quickly. I then sat down near the king and asked him this question : "Why, O king, art thou without cause thus despondent ?" Though he heard this, Sātavāhana nevertheless remained silent, and then Sarvavarman uttered this extraordinary speech : "King, thou didst long ago say to me, 'Make me a learned man.' Thinking upon that, I employed last night a charm to produce a dream.¹ Then I saw in my dream a lotus

¹ So explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v.; cf. Taranga 72, sl. 103.

fallen from heaven, and it was opened by some heavenly youth, and out of it came a divine woman in white garments, and immediately, O king, she entered thy mouth. When I had seen so much I woke up, and I think without doubt that the woman who visibly entered thy mouth was Sarasvati." As soon as Sarvavarman had in these terms described his dream, the king broke his silence and said to me with the utmost earnestness : " In how short a time can a man, who is diligently taught, acquire learning ? Tell me this. For without learning all this regal splendour has no charms for me. What is the use of rank and power to a blockhead ? They are like ornaments on a log of wood." Then I said : *The King's Rival Teachers* " King, it is invariably the case that it takes men twelve years to learn grammar, the gate to all knowledge. But I, my sovereign, will teach it you in six years." When he heard that, Sarvavarman suddenly exclaimed, in a fit of jealousy : " How can a man accustomed to enjoyment endure hardship for so long ? So I will teach you grammar, my prince, in six months." When I heard this promise, which it seemed impossible to make good, I said to him in a rage : " If you teach the king in six months, I renounce at once and for ever Sanskrit, Prakrit and the vernacular dialect, these three languages which pass current among men."¹ Then Sarvavarman said : " And if I do not do this, I, Sarvavarman, will carry your shoes on my head for twelve years." Having said this, he went out ; I too went home ; and the king for his part was comforted, expecting that he would attain his object by means of one of us two. Now Sarvavarman being in a dilemma, seeing that his promise was one very difficult to perform, and regretting what he had done, told the whole story to his wife, and she, grieved to hear it, said to him : " My lord, in this difficulty there is no way of escape for you except the favour of the Lord Kärttikeya."² " It is so," said Sarvavarman, and determined to implore it.

¹ He afterwards learns to speak in the language of the Piśūchas—goblins or ogres. For details of this language see pp. 91, 92 of this volume.—N.M.P.

² Called also Kumāra. This was no doubt indicated by the Kumāra, or boy, who opened the lotus.

Accordingly in the last watch of the night Sarvavarman set out fasting for the shrine of the god. Now I came to hear of it by means of my secret emissaries, and in the morning I told the king of it; and he, when he heard it, wondered what would happen. Then a trusty Rājpūt called Sinhagupta said to him : “ When I heard, O king, that thou wast afflicted I was seized with great despondency. Then I went out of this city, and was preparing to cut off my own head before the goddess Durgā in order to ensure thy happiness. Then a voice from heaven forbade me, saying : ‘ Do not so ; the king’s wish shall be fulfilled.’ Therefore, I believe, thou art sure of success.” When he had said this, that Sinhagupta took leave of the king and rapidly dispatched two emissaries after Sarvavarman, who, feeding only on air, observing a vow of silence, steadfast in resolution, reached at last the shrine of the Lord Kārttikeya. There, pleased with his penance that spared not the body, Kārttikeya favoured him according to his desire ; then the two spies sent by Sinhagupta came into the king’s presence and reported the minister’s success. On hearing that news the king was delighted and I was despondent, as the *chāṭaka* joys, and the swan grieves, on seeing the cloud.¹ Then Sarvavarman arrived, successful by the favour of Kārttikeya, and communicated to the king all the sciences, which presented themselves to him on his thinking of them. And immediately they were revealed to the King Sātavāhana. For what cannot the grace of the Supreme Lord accomplish ? Then the kingdom rejoiced on hearing that the king had thus obtained all knowledge, and there was high festival kept throughout it ; and that moment banners were flaunted from every house and, being fanned by the wind, seemed to dance. Then Sarvavarman was honoured with abundance of jewels fit for a king by the sovereign, who bowed humbly before him, calling him his spiritual preceptor ; and he was made governor of the territory called Bakakachchha, which lies along the bank of the Narmadā. The king being highly pleased with that Rājpūt

¹ The *chāṭaka* lives on raindrops, but the poor swan has to take a long journey to the Mānasa lake beyond the snowy hills at the approach of the rainy season.

Sinhagupta, who first heard by the mouth of his spies that the boon had been obtained from the six-faced god,¹ made him equal to himself in splendour and power. And that queen too, the daughter of Vishṇuśakti, who was the cause of his acquiring learning he exalted at one bound above all the queens, through affection anointing² her with his own hand.

¹ Karttikeya.

² More literally, “sprinkling her with water.”

CHAPTER VII

2. Story of *Gunādhya*

THEN, having taken a vow of silence, I came into the presence of the sovereign, and there a certain Brāhmaṇ recited a *sloka* he had composed, and the king himself addressed him correctly in the Sanskrit language ; and the people who were present in Court were delighted when they witnessed that. Then the king said deferentially to Sarvavarman : “Tell me thyself after what fashion the god showed thee favour.” Hearing that, Sarvavarman proceeded to relate to the king the whole story of Kārttikeya’s favourable acceptance of him.

2E. *The New Grammar revealed*

I went, O king, on that occasion fasting and silent from this place, so when the journey came to an end,¹ being very despondent, and emaciated with my severe austerities, worn out, I fell senseless on the ground. Then, I remember, a man with a spear in his hand came and said to me in distinct accents : “Rise up, my son ; everything shall turn out favourably for thee.” By that speech I was, as it were, immediately bedewed with a shower of nectar, and I woke up, and seemed free from hunger and thirst and in good case. Then I approached the neighbourhood of the god’s temple, overpowered with the weight of my devotion, and after bathing I entered the inner shrine of the god in a state of agitated suspense. Then that Lord Skanda² gave me a sight of himself within, and thereupon Sarasvatī in visible shape entered my mouth. So that holy god, manifested before me,

¹ So corrupt was the text at this point that Tawney had practically to guess at its meaning. The Durgāprasād text edits *tato dhvani munākcheshe jūre* : “when there was (still) little remaining of the way.”—N.M.P.

² Skanda is another name of Kārttikeya.

recited the *sūtra* beginning, “the traditional doctrine of letters.” On hearing that I, with the levity which is so natural to mankind, guessed the next *sūtra* and uttered it myself. Then that god said to me: “If thou hadst not uttered it thyself, this grammatical treatise would have supplanted that of Pāṇini. As it is, on account of its conciseness, it shall be called Kātantra, and Kālāpaka, from the tail (*kalāpu*) of the peacock on which I ride.” Having said this, that god himself in visible form revealed to me that new and short grammar,¹ and then added this besides: “That king of thine in a former birth was himself a holy sage, a pupil of the hermit Bharadvāja, named Kṛishṇa, great in austerity, and he, having beheld a hermit’s daughter who loved him in return, suddenly felt the smart of the wound which the shaft of the flowery-arrowed god inflicts. So, having been cursed by the hermits, he has now become incarnate here, and that hermit’s daughter has become incarnate as his queen. So this King Sātavāhana, being an incarnation of a holy sage,² when he beholds thee will attain a knowledge of all the sciences according to thy wish. For the highest matters are easily acquired by great-souled ones, having been learnt in a former birth, the real truth of them being recalled by their powerful memories.”³ When the god had said this he disappeared, and I went out, and there grains of rice were presented me by the god’s servants. Then I proceeded to return, O king, and wonderful to say, though I consumed those grains on my journey day after day, they remained as numerous as ever.

¹ This grammar is extensively in use in the eastern parts of Bengal. The rules are attributed to Śarvavarman, by the inspiration of Kārttikeya, as narrated in the text. The *vṛtti* (or gloss) is the work of Durgā Singh, and that, again, is commented on by Trilochana Dāsa and Kavirāja. Vararuchi is the supposed author of an illustration of the Conjugations and Śrīpati Varmā of a Supplement. Other commentaries are attributed to Gopī Nātha, Kula Chandra and Viśvesvara. (Note in Wilson’s *Essays*, vol. i, p. 183.)

² Rishis.

³ *Sanskāra* means “tendency produced by some past influence”—often “works in a former birth.”

2. *Story of Guṇāḍhya*

When he had related his adventure, Sarvavarman ceased speaking, and King Sātavāhana in cheerful mood rose up and went to bathe.

Then I, being excluded from business by my vow of silence, took leave, with a low bow only, of that king, who was very averse to part with me, and went out of that town, accompanied by only two disciples, and, with my mind bent on the performance of austerities, came to visit the shrine of the dweller in the Vindhya hills, and having been directed by the goddess in a dream to visit thee, I entered for that purpose this terrible Vindhya forest. A hint given by a Pulinda enabled me to find a caravan, and so somehow or other, by the special favour of destiny, I managed to arrive here, and beheld this host of Piśāchas, and by hearing from a distance their conversation with one another, I have contrived to learn this Paiśācha language,¹ which has enabled me to break my vow of silence. I then made use of it to ask after you, and hearing that you had gone to Ujjayinī, I waited here until your return ; on beholding you I welcomed you in the fourth language (the speech of the Piśāchas), and then I called to mind my origin. This is the story of my adventure in this birth.

[M] When Guṇāḍhya had said this, Kāṇabhūti said to him : "Hear how your arrival was made known to me last night. I have a friend, a Rākshasa of the name of Bhūtivarman, who possesses heavenly insight, and I went to a garden in Ujjayinī, where he resides. On my asking him when my own curse would come to an end, he said : 'We have no power in the day ; wait, and I will tell you at night.' I consented, and when night came on I asked him earnestly the reason why goblins² delighted in disporting themselves,

¹ For a note on this language, called Paiśāchī, see pp. 91, 92.—N.M.P.

² For the idea cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, sc. 1 (towards the end), and numerous other passages in the same author. This belief seems to be very general in Wales. See Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, p. 113. See also Kuhn's *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 93 ; De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii, p. 285.

as they were doing. Then Bhūtivarman said to me : ‘ Listen ; I will relate what I heard Šiva say in a conversation with Brahmā. Rākshasas, Yakshas, and Piśāchas have no power in the day, being dazed with the brightness of the sun, therefore they delight in the night.¹ And where the gods are not

¹ Farmer, commenting on *Hamlet*, Act I, sc. 1, 150, quotes the following lines of Prudentius’ *Ad Gallicinum* :—“*Feiunt vagantes dæmonas, Lætos tenebris noctium, Gallo canente exterritos, Sparsim timere et cedere. Hoc esse signum præscii Norunt repromissæ spei, Qua nos soporis liberi Speramus adventum Dei.*” Douce quotes from another hymn said to have been composed by Saint Ambrose and formerly used in the Salisbury service : “*Præco diei jam sonat, Noctis profunda pervigil ; Nocturna lux viantibus, A nocte noctem segregans. Hoc excitatus Lucifer Solvit polum caligine ; Hoc omnis errorum cohors Viam nocendi deserit. Gallo canente spes reddit, etc.*” See also Grossler’s *Sagen der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, pp. 58 and 59 ; the *Pentamerone* of Basile, ninth diversion of second day (Burton’s translation, vol. i, p 215) ; Dasent’s *Norse Tales*, p. 347—“The Troll turned round, and, of course, as soon as he saw the sun, he burst” ; Grimm’s *Irische Marchen*, p. x ; Kuhn’s *Westfälische Marchen*, p. 63 ; Schöppner’s *Sagenbuch der Bayerischen Lande*, vol. i, pp. 123 and 228 ; and Bernhard Schmidt’s *Griechische Marchen*, p. 138. He quotes an interesting passage from Lucian’s *Φιλοψευδής*.—The *Philopseudes*, or *The Liar*, is a satirical essay on the pseudo-science and superstition of antiquity. A group of philosophers are relating their several experiences. One of them, a Stoic, said he knew of a magician who could fly through the air, raise the dead, call up spirits, etc. Once he performed a love spell for a young man named Glaucias. First of all he raised the ghost of the youth’s father and then summoned Hecate, Cerberus and the Moon, the latter appearing in three forms, as a woman, an ox and a puppy. The magician then constructed a clay image of the God of Love, which he sent to fetch the girl. “Off went the image, and before long there was a knock at the door, and there stood Chrysis. She came in and threw her arms about Glaucias’ neck ; you would have said she was dying for love of him ; and she stayed on till at last we heard the cocks crowing. Away flew the moon into heaven, Hecate disappeared underground, all the apparitions vanished, and we saw Chrysis out of the house just about dawn” (trans. by H. and F. Fowler, vol. iii, p. 238). The idea of the night being evil and the time when ghosts walk abroad owing to their not having to fear the light dates from the very earliest times. Maspero notes (*Stories from Ancient Egypt*, p. liv) that all the lucky or unlucky diversions of the day were named and described in detail, while no notice was taken of the night, since it was all unlucky and unsafe to go abroad.

See also *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Lynn. Thorndyke, 2 vols., 1923 (vol. i, p. 280). In Giles’ *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (vol. i, p. 177) Miss Li, a female devil, disappears as soon as she hears the cock crow.

For details of the Rākshasas, Yakshas, etc., see the notes in Appendix I at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

worshipped, and the Brāhmans, in due form, and where men eat contrary to the holy law, there also they have power. Where there is a man who abstains from flesh, or a virtuous woman, there they do not go. They never attack chaste men, heroes, and men awake.'¹ When he said this on that occasion Bhūtivarman continued : ' Go, for Guṇāḍhya has arrived, the destined means of thy release from the curse.' So hearing this, I have come, and I have seen thee, my lord. Now I will relate to thee that tale which Pushpadanta told ; but I feel curiosity on one point : tell me why he was called Pushpadanta and thou Mālyavān.' Hearing this question from Kāñabhbūti, Guṇāḍhya said to him :

3. *Story of Pushpadanta*

On the bank of the Ganges there is a royal district granted to Brāhmans by royal charter, named Bahusuvarṇaka, and there lived there a very learned Brāhmaṇa named Govindadatta, and he had a wife, Agnidattā, who was devoted to her husband. In course of time that Brāhmaṇa had five sons by her. And they, being handsome but stupid, grew up insolent fellows. Then a guest came to the house of Govindadatta, a Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśvānara by name, like a second god of fire.² As Govindadatta was away from home when he arrived, he came and saluted his sons, and they only responded to his salute with a laugh ; then that Brāhmaṇa in a rage prepared to depart from his house. While he was in this state of wrath Govindadatta came, and asked the cause, and did his best to appease him ; but the excellent Brāhmaṇa nevertheless spoke as follows :— " Your sons have become outcasts, as being blockheads, and you have lost caste by associating with them, therefore I will not eat in your house ; if I did so I should not be able to purify myself by any expiatory ceremony." Then Govindadatta said to him with an oath : " I will never even touch these wicked sons of mine." His hospitable wife also came and said the same to her guest ; then Vaiśvānara was with difficulty induced to accept their hospitality. One

¹ Brockhaus renders it : " Fromme, Helden und Weise."

² Vaiśvānara is an epithet of Agni, or Fire.

of Govindadatta's sons, named Devadatta, when he saw that, was grieved at his father's sternness, and, thinking a life of no value which was thus branded by his parents, went in a state of despondency to the hermitage of Badarikā to perform penance ; there he first ate leaves, and afterwards he fed only on smoke, persevering in a long course of austerities¹ in order to propitiate the husband of Umā.² So Śambhu,² won over by his severe austerities, manifested himself to him, and he craved a boon from the god, that he might ever attend upon him. Śambhu thus commanded him : "Acquire learning, and enjoy pleasures on the earth, and after that thou shalt attain all thy desire." Then he, eager for learning, went to the city of Pāṭaliputra, and according to custom waited on an instructor named Vedakumbha. When he was there, the wife of his preceptor, distracted by passion, which had arisen in her heart, made violent love to him. Alas ! the fancies of women are ever inconstant. Accordingly Devadatta left that place, as his studies had been thus interfered with by the God of Love, and went to Pratishthāna with unwearyed zeal. There he repaired to an old preceptor named Mantrasvāmin, with an old wife, and acquired a perfect knowledge of the sciences. And after he had acquired learning

¹ The amazing austerities of Hindu ascetics have been witnessed by nearly every traveller in India. The term *tapas* is applied to such penance, while *sādhu* is the usual word for an ascetic. The history of asceticism is interesting and may be looked upon as a revolt from the tyranny of caste. The forms of mortification vary. They include mutilations of all kinds, and in every part of the body—lying on a bed of spikes (Monier Williams mentions a Brāhmaṇa who lay naked on one of these beds for thirty-five years) ; totally renouncing washing, cutting the hair, etc. ; fasting for great lengths of time ; lying surrounded by fires, with the burning sun overhead ; hanging upside down from a tree or remaining standing on the head for long periods ; lying in a bath of red-hot coals ; remaining in a position with hands raised, so that they become atrophied ; clenching the fists for so long that the nails grow through the palms of the hands ; eating hot coals ; being buried alive ; remaining in water for long periods ; keeping silent till the power of speech is lost ; and many other such astounding austerities. For fuller details reference should be made to *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, J. C. Oman ; the article "Asceticism," by F. C. Conybeare, in the *Ency. Brit.* (vol. ii, p. 717 *et seq.*), and that on "Asceticism (Hindu)," by A. S. Geden, in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. ii, p. 87 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

² Siva.

the daughter of the King Suśarman, Śrī by name, cast eyes upon the handsome youth, as the goddess Śrī upon Viṣṇu. He also beheld that maiden at a window, looking like the presiding goddess of the moon, roaming through the air in a magic chariot. Those two were, as it were, fastened together by that look which was the chain of love, and were unable to separate. The king's daughter made him a sign to come near with one finger, looking like love's command in fleshly form. Then he came near her, and she came out of the women's apartments, and took with her teeth a flower and threw it down to him. He, not understanding this mysterious sign¹ made by the princess, puzzled as to what he ought

¹ The method of communicating by signs made with objects is widely distributed through the East, and has also been noticed in different parts of Africa and America. The seclusion of women in the East, their ignorance of writing and the risk of conveying a letter to an admirer was quite sufficient to create a necessity for the language of signs, so that the maiden peeping through her lattice of *meshrebiya* could convey messages quickly and discreetly to her lover or the passing stranger.

Consequently we find the language of signs largely introduced into Eastern fiction. A curious fact is that the man to whom the signs are made never understands them, but has them interpreted by a friend or teacher. This is the case in our story of Devadatta, and also in two stories in the *Nights* (see Burton, vol. ii, p. 302 *et seq.*, and vol. ix, p. 269). In the first of these stories, that of "Azīz and Azīzah," are numerous examples of the sign language. The following may be quoted:—The woman appears at the window with a mirror and a red kerchief. She then "bared her forearms and opened her five fingers and smote her breast with palms and digits; and after this she raised her hands and, holding the mirror outside the wicket, she took the red kerchief and retired into the room with it, but presently returned and putting out her hand with the kerchief, let it down towards the lane three several times, dipping it and raising it as often. Then she wrung it out and folded it in her hands, bending down her head the while; after which she drew it in from the lattice and, shutting the wicket-shutter, went away without a single word." The explanation is, the sign with her palm and five fingers: "Return after five days; and the putting forth of her head out of the window, and her gestures with the mirror and the letting down and raising up and wringing out of the red kerchief, signify, Sit in the dyer's shop till my messenger come to thee." After similar other messages our hero meets the lady, but always goes to sleep while waiting for her. Each time on awakening he finds she has been, and deposited objects on his body while asleep. On one occasion he finds lying on his stomach a cube of bone, a single tip-cat stick, the stone of a green date and a carob-pod. The meaning of these articles is: "By the single

to do, went home to his preceptor. There he rolled on the ground unable to utter a word, being consumed within with burning pain, like one dumb and distracted ; his wise preceptor guessing what was the matter by these love symptoms, artfully questioned him, and at last he was with difficulty persuaded to tell the whole story. Then the clever preceptor

tip-cat stick and the cube of bone which she placed upon thy stomach she saith to thee, Thy body is present but thy heart is absent ; and she meaneth, Love is not thus : so do not reckon thyself among lovers. As for the date-stone, it is as if she said to thee, An thou wert in love thy heart would be burning with passion and thou wouldest not taste the delight of sleep ; for the sweet of love is like a green date which kindleth a coal of fire in the vitals. As for the carob-pod, it signifies to thee, The lover's heart is wearied ; and thereby she saith, Be patient under our separation with the patience of Job."

Lane (*Arabian Nights*, i, 608, and *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p 130) says that the art of sign language was first "made known to Europeans by a Frenchman, M. du Vigneau, in a work entitled *Sectétaire Turc, contenant l'Art d'exprimer ses pensées sans se voir, sans se parler, et sans s'écrire* : Paris, 1688 : in-12. Von Hammer has also given an interesting paper on this subject in the *Mines de l'Orient*, No. 1 : Vienna, 1809 (note to Marcel's *Contes du Cheykh El-Mohdy*, iii, 327, 328 : Paris, 1833)." He gives an example of messages answered in the same manner. It is well worth quoting : "An Arab lover sent to his mistress a fan, a bunch of flowers, a silk tassel, some sugar-candy, and a piece of cord of a musical instrument ; and she returned for answer a piece of an aloe-plant, three black cumin-seeds, and a piece of plant used in washing. His communication is thus interpreted. The fan, being called *mirwahah*, a word derived from a root which has among its meanings that of 'going to any place in the evening,' signified his wish to pay her an evening visit : the flowers, that the interview should be in her garden : the tassel, being called *shurrâbeh*, that they should have *sharâb* (or wine) : the sugar-candy, being termed *sukkar nebât*, and *nebât* also signifying 'we will pass the night,' denoted his desire to remain in her company until the morning : and the piece of cord, that they should be entertained by music. The interpretation of her answer is as follows. The piece of an aloe-plant, which is called *sabarâh* (from *sabr*, which signifies *patience*—because it will live for many months together without water), implied that he must wait : the three black cumin-seeds explained to him that the period of delay should be three nights : and the plant used in washing informed him that she should then have gone to the bath, and would meet him."

Similar sign language occurs in Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainments*, p. 167 *et seq.* See also Stein and Grierson, *Hatim's Tales*, 1923, pp. 21, 22, where in the story of the goldsmith the lady turns her back, shows a mirror, throws some water, a posy of flowers and a hair out of the window. Finally she scratches the sill of the window with an iron stiletto. All this means that someone else was in the room, but that he can meet her by the water-drain in

guessed the riddle, and said to him¹ : “ By letting drop a flower with her tooth she made a sign to you that you were to go to this temple rich in flowers, called Pushpadanta, and wait there ; so you had better go now.” When he heard this and knew the meaning of the sign, the youth forgot his grief. Then he went into that temple and remained there. The princess on her part also went there, giving as an excuse that it was the eighth day of the month, and then entered the inner shrine in order to present herself alone before the god ; then she touched her lover, who was behind the panel of the door, and he suddenly springing up threw his arms round her neck. She exclaimed : “ This is strange ; how did you guess the meaning of that sign of mine ? ” He replied : “ It was

the garden and must be prepared to file through iron railings. At the moment she was combing her hair.

The ancient Peruvians used knotted strings, called *quipus*, in a most elaborate manner, the colour chosen usually denoting objects and the knots numbers. The system is still found in the north of South America. For full details and excellent illustrations see J. L. Locke, *The Ancient Quipu*, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., New York, 1923.

The Australian message-stick is merely an aid to memory when conveying a message. In China chopsticks are sometimes used as a means of giving instructions in code, but here we are nearly touching on signalling in the modern sense of the word, which is outside our note.

The language of signs has a distinct connection with the British rule in India, for it was employed by the natives at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. In 1856 mysterious *chupattees*, or griddle-cakes, were circulated from village to village, while among the regiments a lotus-flower was passed round. Each man took it, looked at it and passed it on. The exact meaning of these symbols has never been explained. See “ Secret Messages and Symbols used in India,” *Journ. Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.*, 1919, vol. v, pp. 451, 452. W. Crooke, the author of this article, gives instances of the use of sticks, twigs, spears, arrows, etc., used symbolically. After referring to the *Nights* he says that in India a leaf of pawn with betel and sweet spices inside, accompanied by a certain flower, means, “ I love you.” If much spice is put inside the leaf and one corner turned down in a peculiar way, it signifies “ Come.” If turmeric is added it means, “ I cannot come,” while the addition of a piece of charcoal means, “ Go, I have done with you.” (See T. H. Lewin, *The Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, p. 123.)—N.M.P.

¹ Cf. the first story in the *Vetāla Panchaviniśati*, Chapter LXXV of this work. See also Ralston’s *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 241, where Prince Ivan by the help of his tutor Katoma propounds to the Princess Anna the fair a riddle which enables him to win her as his wife.

my preceptor that found it out, not I." Then the princess flew into a passion and said, "Let me go ; you are a dolt," and immediately rushed out of the temple, fearing her secret would be discovered. Devadatta on his part went away, and thinking in solitude on his beloved, who was no sooner seen than lost to his eyes, was in such a state that the taper of his life was well-nigh melted away in the fire of bereavement. Siva, who had been before propitiated by him, commanded an attendant of his, of the name of Panchaśikha, to procure for him the desire of his heart. That excellent Gaṇa thereupon came and consoled him, and caused him to assume the dress of a woman, and he himself wore the semblance of an aged Brāhmaṇa. Then that worthy Gaṇa went with him to King Suśarman, the father of that bright-eyed one, and said to him : "My son has been sent away somewhere,¹ I go to seek him ; accordingly I deposit with thee this daughter-in-law of mine ; keep her safely, O king." Hearing that, King Suśarman, afraid of a Brāhmaṇa's curse, took the young man and placed him in his daughter's guarded seraglio, supposing him to be a woman. Then after the departure of Panchaśikha the Brāhmaṇa dwelt in woman's clothes in the seraglio of his beloved, and became her trusted confidant. Once on a time the princess was full of regretful longing at night, so he discovered himself to her and secretly married her by the *gāndharva* form of marriage.² And when she became pregnant that excellent Gaṇa came on his thinking of him only, and carried him away at night without its being perceived. Then he quickly rent off from the young man his woman's dress, and in the morning Panchaśikha resumed the semblance of a Brāhmaṇa ; and going with the young man to the King Suśarman he said : "O king, I have this day found my son ; so give me back my daughter-in-law." Then the king, supposing that she had fled somewhere at night, alarmed at the prospect of being cursed by the Brāhmaṇa, said this to his ministers : "This is no Brāhmaṇa ; this is some god come to deceive me, for such things often happen in this world.

¹ The Durgāprasād text reads *proṣṭituk*, thus making a better reading : "my son is abroad somewhere."—N.M.P.

² See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

3A. *Indra and King Śivi*

"So in former times there was a king named Śivi, self-denying, compassionate, generous, resolute, the protector of all creatures ; and in order to beguile him Indra assumed the shape of a hawk, and swiftly pursued Dharma,¹ who by magic had transformed himself into a dove. The dove in terror went and took refuge in the bosom of Śivi. Then the hawk addressed the king with a human voice : 'O king, this is my natural food ; surrender the dove to me, for I am hungry. Know that my death will immediately follow if you refuse my prayer ; in that case where will be your righteousness ? ' Then Śivi said to the god : ' This creature has fled to me for protection, and I cannot abandon it, therefore I will give you an equal weight of some other kind of flesh.' The hawk said : ' If this be so, then give me your own flesh.' The king, delighted, consented to do so. But as fast as he cut off his flesh and threw it on the scale, the dove seemed to weigh more and more in the balance. Then the king threw his whole body on to the scale, and thereupon a celestial voice was heard : ' Well done ! This is equal in weight to the dove.' Then Indra and Dharma abandoned the form of hawk and dove and, being highly pleased, restored the body of King Śivi whole as before, and after bestowing on him many other blessings they both disappeared. In the same way this Brāhmaṇa is some god that has come to prove me."²

¹ The god of justice.

² Benfey considers this story as Buddhistic in its origin. In the *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales traduits du Sanscrit par Hiouen Thsang et du Chinois par Stanislas Julien* we are expressly told that Gautama Buddha gave his flesh to the hawk as Śivi in a former state of existence. It is told of many other persons (see Benfey's *Pāñchatantra*, vol. i, p. 388; cf. also Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, vol. i, tale xvi, p. 239). M. Lévéque (*Les Mythes et Légendes de L'Inde*, p. 327) connects this story with that of Philemon and Baucis. He lays particular stress upon the following lines of Ovid :—

" *Unicus anser erat, minimæ custodia villa,*
Quem Dis hospitibus domini mactare parabant:
Ille celer penna tardos æstate fatigat,
Eluditque diu, tandemque est visus ad ipsos
Configuisse deos. Superi veluere necari."

See also Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii, pp. 187, 297 and 414—

3. Story of *Pushpadanta*

Having said this to his ministers, that King Suśarman of his own motion said to that excellent Gaṇa that had assumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa, prostrating himself before him in fear : “ Spare me. That daughter-in-law of thine was carried off last night. She has been taken somewhere or other by magic arts, though guarded night and day.” Then the Gaṇa, who had assumed the Brāhmaṇa’s semblance, pretending to be with difficulty won over to pity him, said : “ If this be so, king, give thy daughter in marriage to my son.” When he heard this, the king, afraid of being cursed, gave his own daughter to Devadatta ; then Panchaśikha departed. Then Devadatta having recovered his beloved, and that in an open manner, flourished in the power and splendour of his father-in-law, who had no son but him. And in course of time Suśarman anointed the son of his daughter by Devadatta, Mahīdhara by name, as successor in his room, and retired to the forest. Then having seen the prosperity of his son, Devadatta considered that he had attained all his objects, and he too, with the princess, retired to the forest. There he again propitiated Siva, and having laid aside his mortal body, by the special favour of the god he attained the position of a Gaṇa. Because he did not understand the sign given by the flower dropped from the tooth of his beloved, therefore he became known by the name of Pushpadanta in the assembly of the Gaṇas. And his wife became a doorkeeper in the house of the goddess, under the name of Jayā. This is how he came to be called Pushpadanta. Now hear the origin of my name.

4. Story of Mālyavān

Long ago I was a son of that same Brāhmaṇa called Govindadatta, the father of Devadatta, and my name was and compare how the Persian hero Hatim Tai cuts a slice of flesh from his own thigh to feed a wolf who was in pursuit of a milch-doe. See Clouston’s *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. i, pp. 241, 242, and especially the article by Dames and Joyce in *Man*, Feb. 1913, pp. 17-19.—N.M.P.

Somadatta. I left my home indignant for the same reason as Devadatta, and I performed austerities on the Himālaya, continually striving to propitiate Siva with offerings of many garlands. The god of the moony crest, being pleased, revealed himself to me in the same way as he did to my brother, and I chose the privilege of attending upon him as a Gaṇa, not being desirous of lower pleasures. The husband of the daughter of the mountain, that mighty god, thus addressed me : " Because I have been worshipped by thee with garlands of flowers growing in trackless forest regions, brought with thy own hand, therefore thou shalt be one of my Gaṇas, and shalt bear the name of Mālyavān." Then I cast off my mortal frame and immediately attained the holy state of an attendant on the god. And so my name of Mālyavān was bestowed upon me by him who wears the burden of the matted locks,¹ as a mark of his special favour. And I, that very Mālyavān, have once more, O Kāṇabhūti, been degraded to the state of a mortal, as thou seest, owing to the curse of the daughter of the mountain ; therefore do thou now tell me the tale told by Siva, in order that the state of curse of both of us may cease.

¹ I.e. Siva.

NOTE ON THE *GĀNDHARVA* FORM OF MARRIAGE

This form of marriage occurs in the *Ocean of Story* more frequently than any other. This may be due to the fact that our heroes are usually warriors and belong, therefore, to the Kshatriya caste, and it is for this caste that the *gāndharva* form of marriage is particularly recommended.

The name of the marriage is taken from the Gandharvas, who are spirits of the air, and are, moreover, very fond of beautiful women. Thus the nature of the marriage is explained—the only witnesses are the spirits of the air, and the marriage itself is due to sexual attraction, sometimes quite sudden and unpremeditated.

In the course of the present work the *gāndharva* form of marriage occurs about a dozen times, and the context usually shows that those who participated realised a certain irregularity in their action, although they knew that they were "within the law."

Thus we read ". . . and secretly married her by the . . ."; ". . . and secretly made her his wife by the . . ."; ". . . then they both became eager for the . . ."; ". . . made the fair one forget her modesty, and married her by the . . ."

Manu (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv, by Bühler, 1886) first refers to this form of marriage in iii, 21-26, pp. 79-80. Speaking of the four original castes, or *rvaras* (Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras), he says that they use eight marriage rites—viz. *brāhma*, *dairā*, *ārsha*, *prājāpatya*, *āsura*, *gāndharva*, *rākshasa* and *paisācha*; and (23) that the first six are lawful for a Brāhman, and the last four for a Kshatriya, and the same four, excepting the *rākshasa* rite, for a Vaiśya and a Śūdra. Each rite is briefly described, and (in 32) we read: "The voluntary union of a maiden and her lover one must know (to be) the *gāndharva* rite, which springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose." Later we learn that of the eight rites the first four are blameless and the last four blamable, and that (41) from the latter spring sons who are cruel and speakers of untruth, who hate the *Veda* and the sacred law.

In the introduction to Sir R. F. Burton's *Vikram and the Vampire*, 1870, the dancing-girl Vasantasenā marries the devotee by the *gāndharva* rite. Burton adds the following note (p. 28):—"This form of matrimony was recognised by the ancient Hindus, and is frequent in books. It is a kind of Scotch wedding—ultra-Caledonian—taking place by mutual consent, without any form or ceremony. The Gandharvas are heavenly minstrels of Indra's court, who are supposed to be witnesses."

In his *Principles of Hindu and Mohammedan Law*, 1860, Sir W. H. Macnaghten (p. 63) states that the *gāndharva* form of marriage is "peculiar to the military tribe" (*i.e.* Kshatriyas), and suggests that the indulgence may have originated in principles similar to those by which, according both to the civil and English laws, soldiers are permitted to make nuptiave

wills, and to dispose of their property without those forms which the law requires in other cases.

John D. Mayne, dealing with the question in his *Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, 1878, compares the *rākshasa* and *gāndharva* forms of marriage. He considers the latter is better than the former in that it assumes a state of society in which a friendly, though perhaps stealthy, intercourse was possible between man and woman before their union, and in which the inclinations of the female were consulted. He points out that in neither form of marriage was there anything to show that permanence was a necessary element in either transaction (pp. 66, 67). Speaking further on the subject Mayne says (p. 70) that the validity of a *gāndharva* marriage was established in court in 1817, but that the definition seems to imply nothing more or less than fornication.

Sripati Roy in his *Customs and Customary Law in British India. Tugore Law Lectures, 1908, 1911*, deals with the subject on pp. 288, 289.

He states that the form of marriage is still prevalent among rajahs and chiefs, and that the ceremony consists in an exchange of garlands and flowers between the bride and bridegroom, without a nuptial tie, *homam*, and without the customary token of legal marriage, called *pustelu*, being tied round the neck of the bride. This form seems very similar to the *svayambhava* mentioned twice in the *Ocean of Story*, in which a garland is thrown on the neck of the favoured suitor. Readers will also remember the incident in the story of "Nala and Damayantī."

In conclusion I would quote the classical example of the *gāndharva* form of marriage which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (section Ixxiii, "Adiparva"), where King Dushyanta tries to persuade Princess Śakuntalā with these words: "Let the whole of my kingdom be thine to-day, O beautiful one! Come to me, O timid one, wedding me, O beautiful one, according to the *gāndharva* form! O thou of tapering thighs! of all forms of marriage, the *gāndharva* one is regarded as the first."

Śakuntalā demurs and speaks of fetching her father; whereupon King Dushyanta quotes Manu on the eight forms of marriage and shows she need have no apprehensions on the step he wants her to take as it is sanctioned by religion. She is persuaded, but stipulates that her son shall become the heir-apparent. This being agreed upon, the marriage takes place there and then. The king departs with a promise to send for Śakuntalā later.

Her father, Kanva, returns, and Śakuntalā, filled with a sense of shame, does not go out to meet him. Her father, however, by his spiritual knowledge, already knows all that has happened, and addresses her: "Amiable one, what hath been done by thee to-day in secret, without having waited for me—viz. intercourse with man—hath not been destructive of thy virtue. Indeed, union according to the *gāndharva* form of a wishful woman with a man of sexual desire, without mantras of any kind, it is said, is the best for Kshatriyas . . ." (translated by P. C. Roy, new edition, 1919, etc., part ii, pp. 150, 151, 152).

The Gandharvas are described in Appendix I of this volume.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER VIII

IN accordance with this request of Gunādhya that heavenly [MI] tale consisting of seven stories was told by Kāṇabhūti in his own language, and Guṇādhya for his part using the same Paiśācha language threw them into seven hundred thousand couplets in seven years ; and that great poet, for fear that the Vidyādharas should steal his composition, wrote it with his own blood in the forest, not possessing ink. And so the Vidyādharas, Siddhas and other demigods came to hear it, and the heaven above where Kāṇabhūti was reciting was, as it were, continually covered with a canopy. And Kāṇabhūti, when he had seen that great tale composed by Guṇādhya, was released from his curse and went to his own place. There were also other Piśāchas that accompanied him in his wanderings : they too, all of them, attained heaven, having heard that heavenly tale. Then that great poet Guṇādhya began to reflect : "I must make this Great Tale¹ of mine current on the earth, for that is the condition that the goddess mentioned when she revealed how my course would end. Then how shall I make it current ? To whom shall I give it ?" Then his two disciples who had followed him, one of whom was called Guṇadeva, and the other Nandideva, said to him : "The glorious Sātavāhana alone is a fit person to give this poem to, for, being a man of taste, he will diffuse the poem far and wide, as the wind diffuses the perfume of the flower." "So be it," said Guṇādhya, and gave the book to those two accomplished disciples and sent them to that king with it ; and went himself to that same Pratishṭhāna, but remained outside the city in the garden planted by the goddess, where he arranged that they should meet him. And his disciples went and showed the poem to King Sātavāhana, telling him at the same time that it was the work of Guṇādhya. When he heard that Paiśācha

¹ *Brihat-Kathā.*

language and saw that they had the appearance of Piśāchas, that king, led astray by pride of learning, said with a sneer : "The seven hundred thousand couplets are a weighty authority, but the Paiśācha language is barbarous, and the letters are written in blood. Away with this Paiśācha tale." Then the two pupils took the book and returned by the way which they had come, and told the whole circumstance to Gunāḍhya. Gunāḍhya for his part, when he heard it, was immediately overcome with sorrow. Who indeed is not inly grieved when scorned by a competent authority ? Then he went with his disciples to a craggy hill at no great distance, in an unfrequented but pleasant spot, and first prepared a consecrated fire cavity. Then he took the leaves one by one, and after he had read them aloud to the beasts and birds, he flung them into the fire, while his disciples looked on with tearful eyes. But he reserved one story, consisting of one hundred thousand couplets, containing the history of Naravāhanadatta, for the sake of his two disciples, as they particularly fancied it. And while he was reading out and burning that heavenly tale, all the deer, boars, buffaloes and other wild animals came there, leaving their pasturage, and formed a circle round him, listening with tears in their eyes, unable to quit the spot.¹

In the meanwhile King Sātavāhana fell sick. And the physicians said that his illness was due to eating meat wanting in nutritive qualities. And when the cooks were scolded for it they said : "The hunters bring in to us flesh of this kind." And when the hunters were taken to task they said : "On a hill not very far from here there is a Brāhmaṇa reading, who throws into a fire every leaf as soon as he has read it ; so all the animals go there and listen, without ever grazing ; they never wander anywhere else ; consequently this flesh of theirs is wanting in nutritive properties on account of their going without food." When he heard this speech of the hunters he made them show him the way, and out of curiosity went in person to see Gunāḍhya, and he beheld him, owing to his forest life, overspread with matted locks that looked like the smoke of the fire of his curse, that was almost extinguished.

¹ Compare the story of Orpheus.

Then the king recognised him as he stood in the midst of the weeping animals, and after he had respectfully saluted him, he asked him for an explanation of all the circumstances. That wise Brāhmaṇa then related to the king in the language of the demons his own history as Pushpadanta, giving an account of the curse and all the circumstances which originated the descent of the tale to earth. Then the king, discovering that he was an incarnation of a Gaṇa, bowed at his feet, and asked him for that celestial tale that had issued from the mouth of Śiva. Then Guṇāḍhya said to that King Sātavāhana : “ O king ! I have burnt six tales containing six hundred thousand couplets ; but there is one tale consisting of a hundred thousand couplets, take that,¹ and these two pupils of mine shall explain it to you.” So spake Guṇāḍhya and took leave of the king, and then by strength of devotion laid aside his earthly body and, released from the curse, ascended to his own heavenly home. Then the king took that tale which Guṇāḍhya had given, called *Brihat Kathā*, containing the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, and went to his own city. And there he bestowed on Guṇadeva and Nandideva, the pupils of the poet who composed that tale, lands, gold, garments, beasts of burden, palaces and treasures. And having recovered the sense of that tale with their help, Sātavāhana composed the book named *Kathāpīṭha*, in order to show how the tale came to be first made known in the Paiśācha language. Now that tale was so full of various interest that men were so taken with it as to forget the tales of the gods, and after producing that effect in the city it attained uninterrupted renown in the three worlds.

¹ It is unnecessary to remind the reader of the story of the Sibyl.

NOTE ON THE PAIŚĀCHĪ LANGUAGE

As the Piśāchas are dealt with in Appendix I at the end of this volume (see p. 205), it is only the so-called "Paiśāchī," or language of the Piśāchas, with which we are here concerned.

The language of the Piśāchas is described as a kind of gibberish, and hence natives call the English language *piśācha-bhāshā*, or "goblin language," as to them it appears only as gibberish.

In the *Mahābhārata* the Piśāchas are described as a human race inhabiting N.W. India, the Himalaya and Central Asia. Moreover, Kashmir tradition connects their original home with an oasis in the Central Asian desert. There are two distinct streams of tradition concerning the language spoken by this tribe. The first is that in our text, while the other is derived from the works of Indian grammarians.

The first of these, Vararuchi (*circa* sixth century A.D.), familiar to us from the *Ocean of Story*, speaks of only one Paiśāchī dialect, but by the time of Mārkandēya (seventeenth century) the number had increased to thirteen. This, however, includes many dialects which had no connection with Paiśāchi. Accordingly Sir George Grierson (see article "Piśāchas," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. x, pp. 43-45) considers it safest to accept the statement of Hēmachandra (thirteenth century), who states that there were at most three varieties. Although the later grammarians assign different localities all over India as to where the language was spoken, there is only one locality on which they are all agreed—namely, Kēkaya, a country on the east bank of the Indus, in the N.W. Panjāb.

Mārkandēya considers the Kēkaya Paiśāchī to be without doubt the language of the *Brihat-Kathā*, and consequently of the *Ocean of Story*, and makes quotations in support of his theory. As the forms of the dialect as described by Vararuchi closely agree with the Kēkaya Paiśāchī, we may conclude that the language in our text belonged to the extreme N.W. corner of modern India. All scholars, however, are not agreed on this point.

From a passage in Rājaśekhara's (see No. 7 in list given below) *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* Konow infers that in the ninth century the country in the neighbourhood of the Vindhya range was considered as the home of the old dialect of the *Brihat-Kathā*. Grierson (see notes below), however, shows that there were two distinct schools, an eastern and a western one, and it is of the greatest importance to keep these strictly apart when attempting to determine the home of Paiśāchi.

Readers wishing to study the different theories and to obtain further general information on the subject should see the following:—

1. G. A. Grierson, "Piśāca = 'Ωμοφάγος,'" in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1905, p. 285 *et seq.*

2. S. Konow, "The Home of Paiśāchi," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1910, lxiv, p. 95 *et seq.*

3. G. A. Grierson, "Piśācas in the *Mahābhārata*," in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 138 *et seq.*
4. G. A. Grierson, "Paiśāci, Piśācas, and 'Modern Piśācha,'" in *Zeit. der deuts. morg. Gesell.*, 1912, lxvi, p. 68.
5. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, vol. i, p. 533.
6. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India: the Dardic or Piśācha Languages*, Calcutta Government Press, 1919.
7. S. Konow, "Rājaśekhara and the Home of Paiśāci," in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, April 1921, pp. 244-246.
8. G. A. Grierson, "Rājaśekhara and the Home of Paiśāci," in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, July 1921, pp. 424-428.
9. A. B. Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Heritage of India Series, 1923, pp. 90, 91. (Keith considers Grierson's reply to Konow ineffective)—N.M.P.

BOOK II: KATHĀMUKHA

This nectarous tale sprang in old time from the mouth of Śiva, set in motion by his love for the daughter of the Himālaya, as the nectar of immortality sprang from the sea when churned by the mountain Mandara. Those who drink eagerly the nectar of this tale have all impediments removed and gain prosperity, and by the favour of Śiva attain, while living upon earth, the high rank of gods.

CHAPTER IX

INVOCATION

MAY the water of Śiva's sweat, fresh from the embrace of Gauri,¹ which the God of Love when afraid of the fire of Śiva's eye employs as his aqueous weapon, protect you.

Listen to the following tale of the Vidyādharas, which the excellent Gaṇa Pushpadanta heard on Mount Kailāsa from the god of the matted locks, and which Kāñabhūti heard on the earth from the same Pushpadanta after he had become Vararuchi, and which Guṇāḍhya heard from Kāñabhūti, and Sātavāhana heard from Guṇāḍhya.

Story of Udayana, King of Vatsa

[M] There is a land² famous under the name of Vatsa, that appears as if it had been made by the Creator as an earthly rival to dash the pride of heaven. In the centre of it is a great city named Kauśāmbī, the favourite dwelling-place of the Goddess of Prosperity; the ear-ornament, so to speak,

¹ I.e. Durgā.

² At last the *Ocean of Story* really commences.—N.M.P.

of the earth. In it dwelt a king named Satānika, sprung from the Pāñdava family; he was the son of Janamejaya, and the grandson of King Parikshit, who was the great-grandson of Abhimanyu. The first progenitor of his race was Arjuna, the might of whose strong arm was tested in a struggle with the mighty arms of Siva¹; his wife was the earth, and also Vishnumatī his queen: the first produced jewels, but the second did not produce a son. Once on a time, as that king was roaming about in his passion for the chase, he made acquaintance in the forest with the hermit Sāṇḍilya. That worthy sage, finding out that the king desired a son, came to Kauśāmbī and administered to his queen an artfully prepared oblation² consecrated with mystic verses. Then he had a son born to him called Sahasrānika. And his father was adorned by him as excellence is by modesty. Then in course of time Satānika made that son crown prince and, though he still enjoyed kingly pleasures, ceased to trouble himself about the cares of government. Then a war arose between the gods and Asuras, and Indra sent Mātali as a messenger to that king begging for aid. Then he committed his son and his kingdom to the care of his principal minister, who was called Yogandhara, and his commander-in-chief, whose name was Supratika, and went to Indra with Mātali to slay the Asuras in sight. That king, having slain many Asuras, of whom Yamadamshṭra was the chief, under the eyes of Indra, met death in that very battle. The king's body was brought back by Mātali, and the queen burnt herself with it, and the royal dignity descended to his son Sahasrānika. Wonderful to say, when that king ascended his father's throne the heads of the kings on every side of his dominions were bent down with the weight. Then Indra sent Mātali, and brought to heaven that Sahasrānika, as being the son of his friend, that he might be present at the great feast which

¹ I believe this refers to Arjuna's combat with the god when he had assumed the form of a Kirāta, or mountaineer. Siva is here called Tripurāri, the enemy or destroyer of Tripura. Dr Brockhaus renders it quite differently.

² Composed of rice, milk, sugar and spices.—For similar child-giving drinks see L. B. Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 187, and Knowles' *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 131 and 416. Cf. also the child-giving mango in Freer's *Old Deccan Days*, p. 254.—N.M.P.

he was holding to celebrate his victory over his foes. There the king saw the gods, attended by their fair ones, sporting in the garden of Nandana, and desiring for himself a suitable wife, fell into low spirits. Then Indra, perceiving this desire of his, said to him : " King, away with despondency ; this desire of thine shall be accomplished. For there has been born upon the earth one who was long ago ordained a suitable match for thee. For listen to the following history, which I now proceed to relate to thee :—

" Long ago I went to the Court of Brahmā in order to visit him, and a certain Vasu named Vidhūma followed me. While we were there an Apsaras named Alambushā came to *Udayana's Parents* see Brahmā, and her robe was blown aside by the wind. And the Vasu when he beheld her was overpowered by love, and the Apsaras too had her eyes immediately attracted by his form. The lotus-sprung god¹ when he beheld that looked me full in the face, and I, knowing his meaning, in wrath cursed those two : ' Be born, you two shameless creatures, into the world of mortals, and there become man and wife.' That Vasu has been born as thou, Sahasrānika, the son of Satānika, an ornament to the race of the moon. And that Apsaras too has been born in Ayodhyā as the daughter of King Kritavarman, Mṛigāvatī by name, she shall be thy wife."

By these words of Indra the flame of love was fanned in the passionate² heart of the king and burst out into full blaze ; as a fire when fanned by the wind. Indra then dismissed the king from heaven with all due honour in his own chariot, and he set out with Mātali³ for his capital. But as he was starting the Apsaras Tilottamā said to him out of affection : " King, I have somewhat to say to thee ; wait a moment." But he, thinking on Mṛigāvati, went off without hearing what she said ; then Tilottamā in her rage cursed him : " King, thou shalt be separated for fourteen years from her who has so engrossed thy mind that thou dost not hear my

¹ Brahmā. He emerges from a lotus growing from the navel of Vishṇu.

² In the word *sasneha* there is probably a pun, *sneha* meaning "love," and also "oil."

³ The charioteer of Indra.

speech." Now Mātali heard that curse, but the king, yearning for his beloved, did not. In the chariot he went to Kauśāmbī, but in spirit he went to Ayodhyā. Then the king told with longing heart all that he had heard from Indra with reference to Mrigāvatī to his ministers, Yogandhara and the others ; and not being able to endure delay, he sent an ambassador to Ayodhyā to ask her father Kṛitavarman for the hand of that maiden. And Kṛitavarman having heard from the ambassador his commission, told in his joy the Queen Kalāvati, and then she said to him : " King, we ought certainly to give Mrigāvatī to Sahasrānika, and, I remember, a certain Brāhmaṇa told me this very thing in a dream." Then in his delight the king showed to the ambassador Mrigāvatī's wonderful skill in dancing, singing and other accomplishments, and her matchless beauty ; so the King Kṛitavarman gave to Sahasrānika that daughter of his who was unequalled as a mine of graceful arts, and who shone like an incarnation of the moon. That marriage of Sahasrānika and Mrigāvatī was one in which the good qualities of either party supplemented those of the other, and might be compared to the union of learning and intelligence.

Not long after sons were born to the king's ministers ; Yogandhara had a son born to him named Yaugandharāyaṇa ; and Supratika had a son born to him named Rumanvat. *Tilottama's Curse fulfilled* And to the king's master of the revels was born a son named Vasantaka. Then in a few days Mrigāvatī became slightly pale and promised to bear a child to King Sahasrānika. And then she asked the king, who was never tired of looking at her, to gratify her longing¹ by filling a tank of blood for her to bathe in.²

¹ On the curious motif of the longings of pregnancy see Appendix III at the end of the volume.—N.M.P.

² For illustrations of this bath of blood see Dunlop's Liebrecht, p. 135, and the note at the end of the book. The story of "Der arme Heinrich," to which Liebrecht refers, is to be found in the sixth volume of Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*.—Compare also the story of "Amys and Amylion," Ellis' *Early English Romances*, pp. 597, 598 ; the *Pentamerone* of Basile (ninth diversion, third day; Burton, vol. ii, p. 318); Prym and Socin's *Syrische Märchen*, p. 73; Grohmann's *Sagen aus Böhmen*, p. 268; Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, p. 354, with Dr Köhler's notes ; and Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*,

Accordingly the king, who was a righteous man, in order to gratify her desire, had a tank filled with the juice of lac and other red extracts, so that it seemed to be full of blood. And while she was bathing in that lake, and covered with red dye, a bird of the race of Garuda¹ suddenly pounced upon her and carried her off, thinking she was raw flesh. As soon as she was carried away in some unknown direction by the bird the king became distracted, and his self-command forsook him as if in order to go in search of her. His heart was so attached to his beloved that it was in very truth carried off by that bird, and thus he fell senseless upon the earth. As soon as he had recovered his senses, Mātali, who had discovered all by his divine power, descended through the air and came where the king was. He consoled the king, and told him the curse of Tilottamā with its destined end, as he had heard it long ago, and then he took his departure. Then the king, tormented with grief, lamented on this wise: "Alas, my

p. 60; Trumbull, in *The Blood Covenant*, p. 116 *et seq.*, notes that the blood-bath was considered a cure for leprosy from ancient Egypt to the Middle Ages. For numerous strange examples see Strack, *Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit*, München, 1900.

The belief in the magical properties and general potency of blood, both human and animal, is nearly universal. Besides the blood-covenant, the power contained in blood is acquired by drinking, external application, and being baptized in blood. In China charms against disease are written in blood. For full details see H. W. Robinson's article, "Blood," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. ii, p. 714 *et seq.*

In German folk-tales (Grimm, *Household Tales*, I, 396) leprosy is cured by bathing in the blood of innocent maidens. The blood of virgins appears to have been especially potent, for Constantine the Great was advised to bathe in children's blood to cure a certain complaint, but owing to the parents' cries he decided not to do it, with the result that he was miraculously cured. Crooke (*Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, pp. 172, 173) relates actual facts to show how largely such beliefs prevail in India: "In 1870 a Musalmān butcher losing his child was told by a Hindu conjurer that if he washed his wife in the blood of a boy his next infant would be healthy. To ensure this result a child was murdered. A similar case occurred in Muzaffarnagar, where a child was killed and the blood drunk by a barren woman." About 1896 at the same locality "a childless Jät woman was told that she would attain her desire if she bathed in water mixed with the blood of a Brāhmaṇ child. A Hindu coolie at Mauritius bathed in and drank the blood of a girl, thinking that thereby he would be gifted with supernatural powers."—N.M.P.

¹ See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

beloved, that wicked Tilottamā has accomplished her desire." But having learned the facts about the curse, and having received advice from his ministers, he managed, though with difficulty, to retain his life through hope of a future reunion.

But that bird which had carried off Mrigāvatī, as soon as it found out that she was alive, abandoned her, and, as fate would have it, left her on the mountain where the sun rises. And when the bird let her drop and departed, the queen, distracted with grief and fear, saw that she was left unprotected on the slope of a trackless mountain. While she was weeping in the forest, alone, with only one garment to cover her, an enormous serpent rose up and prepared to swallow her. Then she for whom prosperity was reserved in the future was delivered by some heavenly hero who came down and slew the serpent and disappeared almost as soon as he was seen. Thereupon she, longing for death, flung herself down in front of a wild elephant, but even he spared her as if out of compassion. Wonderful was it that even a wild beast did not slay her when she fell in his way ! Or rather it was not to be wondered at. What cannot the will of Siva effect ?

Then the girl, tardy with the weight of her womb, desiring to hurl herself down from a precipice, and thinking upon that lord of hers, wept aloud ; and a hermit's son, who *The Birth of Udayana* had wandered there in search of roots and fruits, hearing that, came up, and found her looking like the incarnation of sorrow. And he, after questioning the queen about her adventures, and comforting her as well as he could, with a heart melted with compassion led her off to the hermitage of Jamadagni. There she beheld Jamadagni, looking like the incarnation of comfort, whose brightness so illumined the eastern mountain that it seemed as if the rising sun ever rested on it. When she fell at his feet, that hermit who was kind to all who came to him for help, and possessed heavenly insight, said to her who was tortured with the pain of separation : " Here there shall be born to thee, my daughter, a son who shall uphold the family of his father, and thou shalt be reunited to thy husband ; therefore weep not." When that virtuous woman heard that speech of the hermit's she took up her abode in that hermitage, and

entertained hope of a reunion with her beloved. And some days after the blameless one gave birth to a charmingly beautiful son, as association with the good produces good manners. At that moment a voice was heard from heaven : " An august king of great renown has been born, Udayana by name, and his son shall be monarch of all the Vidyādharaś." That voice restored to the heart of Mṛigāvatī joy which she had long forgotten. Gradually that boy grew up to size and strength in that grove of asceticism, accompanied by his own excellent qualities as playmates. And the heroic child had the sacraments appropriate to a member of the warrior caste performed for him by Jamadagni, and was instructed by him in the sciences and the practice of archery. And out of love for him Mṛigāvatī drew off from her own wrist, and placed on his, a bracelet marked with the name of Sahasrānika.

Then that Udayana, roaming about once upon a time in pursuit of deer, beheld in the forest a snake that had been forcibly captured by a Savara.¹ And he, feeling pity for the *Savara and* beautiful snake, said to that Savara : " Let go the Snake this snake to please me." Then that Savara said : " My lord, this is my livelihood, for I am a poor man, and I always maintain myself by exhibiting dancing snakes. The snake I previously had having died, I searched through the great wood, and finding this one, overpowered him by charms and captured him." When he heard this, the generous Udayana gave that Savara the bracelet which his mother had bestowed on him, and persuaded him to set the snake at liberty. The Savara took the bracelet and departed, and then the snake, being pleased with Udayana, bowed before him and said as follows :— " I am the eldest brother of Vāsuki,² called Vasunemi : receive from me, whom thou hast preserved, this lute, sweet in the sounding of its strings, divided according to the division of the quarter-tones, and betel leaf, together with the art of weaving unfading garlands and adorning the forehead with marks that never become indistinct." Then Udayana, furnished with all these, and dismissed by

¹ A wild mountaineer. Dr Bühler observes that the names of these tribes are used very vaguely in Sanskrit story-books.

² Sovereign of the snakes.

the snake, returned to the hermitage of Jamadagni, raining nectar, so to speak, into the eyes of his mother.¹

In the meantime that Savara who had lighted on this forest, and while roaming about in it had obtained the bracelet from Udayana by the will of fate, was caught attempting to sell this ornament, marked with the king's name, in the market, and was arrested by the police, and

¹ Eastern fiction abounds in stories of grateful and ungrateful snakes. We shall come across more such stories in later volumes of this work. They are usually of Buddhist origin, and we find numerous snake stories in the *Jātakas* (e.g. "The Saccānīkāra," No. 73, which is found in vol. i, p. 177 *et seq.*, of the Cambridge edition). In this story the snake is one of a trio of grateful animals, and presents the hermit with forty *crores* of gold. See the story of Ārāmaçobhā and the grateful snake in the *Kathākoça* (Tawney's translation, p. 85 *et seq.*). In Kaden's *Unter den Olivenbäumen* there is a similar snake in the story of "Lichtmess." Compare the tale of the goldsmith's adventure with the tiger, the ape and the snake in *Kalila wa Dimna*, and the Pali variant from the "Rasavāhini Jambudīpa" story in *The Orientalist* for November 1884. In some cases after the man has helped the snake, the latter attempts to bite him, or forces from him some promise of self-sacrifice at a later date.

For examples of such stories see Clouston's *Eastern Romances*, p. 231, where in the Tamil *Alakīsu Kathā* is the story of the "Brähman and the Rescued Snake." In this case the snake gives the jewel from its head, which he is bidden to give his wife and then return to be devoured. On the honest man's returning the snake repents of its ingratitude and gives a second jewel. Compare the famous story of the snake in "Nala and Damayanti." See also J. Jacob's *Aesop*, Ro. ii, 10, p. 40, and his *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 246 and 247.

In the second story of *Old Deccan Days* (p. 21) a grateful cobra creates a palace twenty-four miles square.

In Arabian fiction we find the grateful snake in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. i, p. 173; vol. ix, p. 330). In both these stories the snake is rescued from a pursuing dragon. See also Chauvin (*op. cit.*, v, p. 5).

In Europe we find many stories of the grateful snake. In the Bohemian version of M. Leger's *Slav Tales*, No. 15, the youngest son befriends a dog, cat and serpent. The latter gives him a magic watch resembling Aladdin's lamp. In the ninth of M. Dozon's *Contes Albanais* the reward is a stone which, when rubbed, summons a black man who grants all desires. In a popular Greek tale in Holin's collection the reward is a seal ring which, when licked, summons a black man, as in the Albanian story. (See Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. i, pp. 226, 227, 228, 231, 321-325.)

Finally compare the tale of Guido and the Seneschal, entitled "Of Ingratitude," in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Swan's edition, vol. ii, p. 141, No. 39).—N.M.P.

brought up in court before the King. Then King Sahasrānīka himself asked him in sorrow whence he had obtained the bracelet. Then that Savara told him the whole story of his obtaining possession of the bracelet, beginning with his capture of the snake upon the eastern mountain. Hearing that from the Savara, and beholding that bracelet of his beloved, King Sahasrānīka ascended the swing of doubt.

Then a divine voice from heaven delighted the king, who was tortured with the fire of separation, as do the raindrops the peacock when afflicted with the heat, uttering these words : " Thy curse is at an end, O king, and that wife of thine, Mṛigāvatī, is residing in the hermitage of Jamadagni together with thy son." Then that day at last came to an end, though being made long by anxious expectation, and on the morrow that King Sahasrānīka, making the Savara show him the way, set out with his army for that hermitage on the eastern mountain, in order quickly to recover his beloved wife.

NOTE ON THE GARUDA BIRD

The Garuda bird is the vehicle of Vishṇu. It is described as half-man and half-bird, having the head, wings, beak and talons of an eagle, and human body and limbs, its face being white, its wings red and its body golden.

Garuda is the son of one of the daughters of Daksha. The account of its miraculous birth and how it became the vehicle of Vishṇu is given at the beginning of the *Mahābhārata* (I, xvi). Other adventures in its life, such as the attempt to stop Rāvaṇa from abducting Sītā, are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*.

As we shall see in Appendix I, Garuda is an enemy of the Nāgas (snakes), and in this connection it is interesting to note that in the well-known story of "Sindbad the Sailor" the *roc* is represented as attacking gigantic snakes. From *Rig-Veda* days it is obvious that the sun is meant when reference is made to Garuda, and the myth in the *Mahābhārata* confirms this. Garuda also bears the name of Suparna, which is a word used for the bird-genii appearing in rock-carvings, etc.

Gigantic birds that feed on raw flesh are mentioned by the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Book II, chapter xli. Alexander gets on the back of one of them and is carried into the air, guiding his bird by holding a piece of liver in front of it. He is warned by a winged creature in human shape to proceed no farther, and descends again to earth. See also Liebrecht's Dunlop, p. 143 and note. See also Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben*, pp. 5, 6, 7. He compares Pacolet's horse in the story of Valentine and Orson. A *Wundervogel* is found among nearly every nation. It is best known to Europeans under the form *roc*, or more correctly *ruk̥h*, owing to its appearance as such in the second voyage of Sindbad (see Burton's *Nights*, vol. vi, pp. 16, 17 and 49). See Ad-Damīrī's *Hayāt al-Hayawān* (zoological lexicon), trans. by A. Jayakar, 1906, vol. i, pp. 856, 857.

In Persia we find the bird was originally known as *amru*, or (in the *Minōi-Khiradh*) *sīnamrū*, which shakes the fruit from the tree bearing the seed of all things useful to mankind. In later Persian times it is called *sīmūrgh* and becomes the foster-father of Zal, whose son was the Persian hero Rustam (see Sykes' *History of Persia*, 2nd edition, 1921, vol. i, p. 136). The word *roc* is also Persian and has many meanings, including "cheek" (e.g. *Lalla Rookh*), "hero" or "soldier," "tower" or "castle" (hence the piece "rook" in chess), a "rhinoceros," etc.

In Arabia the bird is called *'anqā* ("long-necked"), and has borrowed some of its features from the phœnix, that curious bird which Herodotus describes (ii, 73) as coming to Egypt from Arabia every five hundred years. (See Ad-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, part i, p. 401, and the *Ency. of Islām*, under "'ankā.") Other curious myths connected with the phœnix (which has been identified with the stork, heron or egret, called *benu* by the ancient Egyptians) will be found in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, x, 2), Tacitus (*Ann.*, vi, 28)

and *Physiologus* (*q.v.*). The *benu* has been found to be merely a symbol of the rising sun, but it hardly seems sufficient to account for the very rare visits of the phœnix to Egypt (see article "Phœnix," *Ency. Brit.*, vol. xxi, pp. 457, 458).

It is interesting to note that not only the Indian Garuḍa, but also the other great bird (half-eagle and half-lion) of classical antiquity, the griffin, was connected with the sun, and furthermore was a guardian of precious stones, which reminds us of the tales of the *rukhs* whose resting-place is covered with diamonds.

Tracing the huge-bird myth in other lands, we find it as the *hathilinga* in Buddhaghosa's *Fables*, where it has the strength of five elephants. In a translation of these parables from the Burmese by T. Rogers, which is really a commentary on the *Dhammapada*, or "Path of Virtue," we find a story very similar to that in the *Ocean of Story*. Queen Sāmavati is pregnant, and her husband, King Parantapa, gives her a large red cloak to wear. She goes out wearing this cloak, and just at that moment a *hathilinga* flies down from the sky, and mistaking the queen for a piece of raw meat snatches her up and disappears in the sky again.

This fabulous bird becomes the *evosh* of the Zend, the *bar yuchre* of the Rabbinical legends, the *kargas* or *kerkes* of the Turks, the *gryps* of the Greeks, and the *norka* of the Russians (see Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 73, with the numerous bibliographical references on p. 80).

In Japan there is the *pheng* or *kirni*, while in China most writers cite the sacred dragon. This, however, seems to me to be quite incongruous. I think the *an-si-tsuo* or Parthian bird is much more likely to be the origin of Chinese bird myths. It is simply the ostrich, which was introduced to the Court of China from Parthia in the second century A.D. (see *Hou-Han-shu*, 88, and Hirth, *China and Roman Orient*, 39). The Chinese traveller Chau Ju-Kua in his *Chu-fan-chi*, a work on Chinese and Arab trade of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, speaks of Pi-p'a-lo (*i.e.* Berbera) as producing the "camel-crane," "which measures from the ground to its crown from six to seven feet. It has wings and can fly, but not to any great height." For other references to the "camel-bird" see Henri Cordier's *Notes and Addenda to the Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1920, pp. 122, 123.

Many of the encounters with these enormous birds are reported to have been made at sea, usually during a terrific storm, but sometimes in a dead calm. Ibn Batuta gives a description of such an encounter (see Yule and Cordier's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. iv, p. 146). All of these stories are now put down to the well-known effects of mirage, abnormal reflection, or water-spouts.

So much for the mythological side of the *rukhs*.

We now turn to the other side—namely, the possibility of the stories of huge birds being founded on fact.

Attention was first drawn to Madagascar as being the possible home of the *rukhs* after the discovery of the great fossil *Aepyornis maximus* and its enormous egg, a model of which can be seen in the British Museum. The chief investigations were made by Professor G. G. Bianconi of Bologna, a

friend of Sir Richard Burton (see the *Nights*, vol. vi, p. 49). More recently bones of the *Harpagornis* have been discovered by Dr Haast in New Zealand. This bird must have been of enormous size, as it preyed upon the extinct *moa*, which itself was at least ten feet high. The work of Professor Owen and H. G. Seeley (who has recently died) has proved beyond doubt the existence of gigantic birds in comparatively recent times (see Seeley, *Dragons of the Air*, London, 1901, which contains descriptions of various large pterodactyls).

It is impossible to state with any certainty whether a particular species of bird has died out through the agency of man or through natural causes, except in those few cases where the age of the beds in which the bones have been found is accurately known.

In the last few years a fine specimen of the *Diatryma* has been described by Matthew and Granger (1917) quite seven feet in height.

In northern Siberia the bones of great pachyderms have implanted a firm belief in the minds of the people of the former existence of birds of colossal size.

Marco Polo describes Madagascar as the home of the *ruk*, and it was the discovery of the *Aepyornis* remains in the island which has made the story more credulous. Yule (*Marco Polo*, vol. ii, pp. 415-421) gives a comprehensive account of the *ruk*, with a note on "Ruc's quills," on pp. 596, 597. See also the article in the *Dictionary of Birds*, 1893, by Professor Newton. By far the best bibliography on the whole question of these gigantic birds is to be found in Victor Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes* (a truly marvellous work), Part V, p. 228, under "Le Garouda," and Part VII, pp. 10-14, where the subject is treated under the headings, "Rokh," "Garouda," "'Anqâ," "Simourg," "Griffon," with a list of general works, including those by Bianconi, on the *Aepyornis* of Madagascar. For further details concerning the mythical history of Garuda see Jarl Charpentier, *Die Suparyasage*, Upsala, p. 220 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

CHAPTER X

AFTER he had gone a long distance, the king en-[M] camped that day in a certain forest on the border of a lake. He went to bed weary, and in the evening he said to Sangatka, a story-teller who had come to him on account of the pleasure he took in his service : " Tell me some tale that will gladden my heart, for I am longing for the joy of beholding the lotus-face of Mṛigāvatī." Then Sangatka said : " King, why do you grieve without cause ? The union with your queen, which will mark the termination of your curse, is nigh at hand. Human beings experience many unions and separations ; and I will tell you a story to illustrate this. Listen, my lord.

5. *Story of Śrīdatta and Mṛigānkavatī*

Once on a time there lived in the country of Mālava a Brāhmaṇa named Yajnasoma. And that good man had two sons born to him, beloved by men. One of them was known as Kālanemi and the second was named Vigatabhaya. Now when their father had gone to heaven, those two brothers, having passed through the age of childhood, went to the city of Pāṭaliputra to acquire learning. And when they had completed their studies their teacher Devaśarman gave them his own two daughters, like another couple of sciences incarnate in bodily form.

Then seeing that the householders around him were rich, Kālanemi through envy made a vow and propitiated the Goddess of Fortune with burnt-offerings. And the goddess being satisfied appeared in bodily form and said to him : " Thou shalt obtain great wealth and a son who shall rule the earth ; but at last thou shalt be put to death like a robber, because thou hast offered flesh in the fire with impure motives."¹

¹ The Durgāprasād text reads *amarsha* instead of *amisham*, which seems to make better sense. Thus the translation would be : " because thou hast offered libations with a mind troubled by anger."—N.M.P.

When she had said this, the goddess disappeared ; and Kālanemi in course of time became very rich ; moreover, after some days a son was born to him. So the father, whose desires were now accomplished, called that son Sridatta,¹ because he had been obtained by the favour of the Goddess of Fortune. In course of time Śridatta grew up, and though a Brāhmaṇa, became matchless upon earth in the use of weapons, and in boxing and wrestling.

Then Kālanemi's brother Vigatabhaya went to a foreign land, having become desirous of visiting places of pilgrimage, through sorrow for his wife, who had died of the bite of a snake.

Moreover, the king of the land, Vallabhaśakti, who appreciated good qualities, made Śridatta the companion of his son Vikramasakti. So he had to live with a haughty prince, as the impetuous Bhīma lived in his youth with Duryodhana. Then two Kshatriyas, natives of Avanti, Bāhuśālin and Vajramushti, became friends of that Brāhmaṇa. And some other men from the Deccan, sons of ministers, having been conquered by him in wrestling, resorted to him out of spontaneous friendship, as they knew how to value merit. Mahābala and Vyāghrabhaṭa, and also Upendrabala and a man named Nishṭhuraka, became his friends. One day, as years rolled on, Śridatta, being in attendance on the prince, went with him and those friends to sport on the bank of the Ganges ; then the prince's own servants made him king, and at the same time Śridatta was chosen king by his friends. This made the prince angry, and in overweening confidence he at once challenged that Brāhmaṇa hero to fight. Then being conquered by him in wrestling, and so disgraced, he made up his mind that this rising hero should be put to death. But Śridatta found out that intention of the prince's, and withdrew in alarm with those friends of his from his presence.

And as he was going along he saw in the middle of the Ganges a woman being dragged under by the stream, looking like the Goddess of Fortune in the middle of the sea. And then he plunged in to pull her out of the water, leaving Bāhuśālin and his five other friends on the bank.

¹ I.e. given by Fortune.

Then that woman, though he seized her by the hair, sank deep in the water ; and he dived as deep in order to follow her. And after he had dived a long way he suddenly saw *The Asura Maid and the Lion* a splendid temple of Siva, but no water and no woman.¹ After beholding that wonderful sight, being wearied out, he paid his adorations to the god whose emblem is a bull, and spent that night in a beautiful garden attached to the temple. And in the morning that lady was seen by him, having come to worship the god Siva, like the incarnate splendour of beauty attended by all womanly perfections. And after she had worshipped the god, the moon-faced one departed to her own house, and Śridatta for his part followed her. And he saw that palace of hers resembling the city of the gods, which the haughty beauty entered hurriedly in a contemptuous manner. And without deigning to address him, the graceful lady sat down on a sofa in the inner part of the house, waited upon by thousands of women. And Śridatta also took a seat near her. Then suddenly that virtuous lady began to weep. The teardrops fell in an unceasing shower on her bosom, and that moment pity entered into the heart of Śridatta. And then he said to her : “ Who art thou, and what is thy sorrow ? Tell me, fair one, for I am able to remove it.” Then she said reluctantly : “ We are the thousand granddaughters of Bali,² the king of the Daityas, and I am the eldest of all, and my name is Vidyutprabhā. That grandfather of ours was carried off by Vishṇu to long imprisonment, and the same hero slew our father in a wrestling match. And after he had slain him he excluded us from our own city, and he placed a lion in it to prevent us from entering.³ The lion occupies that place, and

¹ Cf. the story of Sattvaśīla, which is the seventh tale in the *Vetāla Panchavimśati*, and will be found in Chapter LXXXI of this work. Cf. also the story of Śaktideva in Book V, chap. xxvi, and Ralston's remarks on it in his *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 99.

² Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf and appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could step over. On Bali granting it, Vishṇu, dilating himself, in two steps deprived him of heaven and earth, but left the lower regions still in his dominion.

³ This incident may be compared with one described in Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 82.

grief our hearts. It is a Yaksha that was made a lion by the curse of Kuvera, and long ago it was predicted that the Yaksha's curse should end when he was conquered by some mortal ; so Vishnu deigned to inform us on our humbly asking him how we might be enabled to enter our city. Therefore subdue that lion, our enemy : it was for that reason, O hero, that I enticed you hither. And when you have overcome him you will obtain from him a sword named Mrigānka,¹ by the virtue of which you shall conquer the world and become a king." When he heard that, Śridatta agreed to undertake the adventure, and after that day had passed, on the morrow he took those Daitya maidens with him as guides, and went to that city, and there he overcame in wrestling that haughty lion. He being freed from his curse assumed a human form, and out of gratitude gave his sword to the man who had put an end to his curse, and then disappeared together with the burden of the sorrow of the great Asura's daughter. Then that Śridatta, together with the Daitya's daughter, who was accompanied by her younger sisters, entered that splendid city, which looked like the serpent Ananta² having emerged from the earth. And that Daitya maiden gave him a ring

¹ I.e. "the moon"—bright and shining—literally, "the hare-marked," as the Hindus see a hare in the moon instead of a "man." The custom of giving names to swords is very widely spread and dates from the earliest times. Sword-making has always been a highly specialised craft with many well-guarded secrets, and consequently magic has been continually connected with it. Many were actually made by sorcerers, while others took years to fashion. Sometimes the name of the sword gives its history, as in Arthur's Excalibar = Ex cal (ce) liber (are) = "to free from the stone." In most cases, however, a name was given to it which would inspire confidence to the wielder and terror to the foe. Thus Cæsar's sword was called Crocea Mors, the "yellow death"; Edward the Confessor's was Curta'na, the "cutter"; Mohammed had many—the "beater," the "keen," the "deadly"; Ilieme's was the "blood-fetcher," and so forth.

A long list will be found in Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, pp. 1196, 1197. See also Oppert's *On the Weapons, etc., of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880; Burton's *Book of the Sword*, pp. 214-219; J. A. Macculloch's *Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 203, 204, and my *Selected Papers of Sir Richard Burton*, 1923, p. 51.—N.M.P.

² Ananta (endless, or infinite) is the name of the thousand-headed serpent Sesha.—A coiled snake in Maya (Central America) was the symbol of eternity.—N.M.P.

that destroyed the effect of poison.¹ Then that young man, remaining there, fell in love with her. And she cunningly said to him : " Bathe in this tank, and when you dive in take with you this sword ² to keep off the danger of crocodiles." He consented, and diving into the tank rose upon that very bank of the Ganges from which he first plunged in. Then he, seeing the ring and the sword, felt astonishment at having emerged from the lower regions, and despondency at having been tricked by the Asura maid. Then he went towards his own house to look for his friends, and as he was going he saw on the way his friend Nishthuraka. Nishthuraka came up to him and saluted him, and quickly took him aside into a lonely place, and when asked by him for news of his relations gave him this answer : " On that occasion when you plunged into the Ganges we searched for you for many days, and out of grief we were preparing to cut off our heads, but a voice from heaven forbade that attempt of ours, saying : ' My sons, do no rash act, your friend shall return alive.' And then we were returning into the presence of your father when on the way a man hurriedly advanced to meet us and said this : ' You must not enter this city at present, for the king of it, Vallabhaśakti, is dead, and the ministers have with one accord conferred the royal dignity on Vikramaśakti.

¹ Poison detectors are of various kinds. Sometimes they were objects which could be worn, as in the text, but more often the presence of poison would cause some noticeable effect on an adjacent object.

Thus peacocks' feathers become ruffled, opals turn pale and Venetian glass shivers at the approach of poison. Cups of rhinoceros horn cause the drink to effervesce, if it contains poison.

The German abbess and mystic St Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) says (*Subtleties*, vi, 7) that the heart of a vulture split in two, dried before a slow fire and in the sun, and worn sewn up in a belt of doeskin makes the wearer tremble in the presence of poison.

In describing his palace, Prester John says the gates are of sardonyx mixed with *cornu cerasitis* (horn of the horned serpents), and so prevent the secret introduction of poison.

Thomas of Cantimpré tells us that a stone from the head of a toad is an amulet against poison.

Finally in the Middle Ages the sign of the cross was supposed to detect poison.—N.M.P.

² Reading *khadgam* for the *khadge* of Dr Brockhaus' text.

Now the day after he was made king he went to the house of Kālanemi and, full of wrath, asked where his son Śridatta was, and he replied : " I do not know." Then the king in a rage, supposing he had concealed his son, had him put to death by impalement as a thief. When his wife saw that, her heart broke. Men of cruel deeds must always pile one evil upon another in long succession ; and so Vikramaśakti is searching for Śridatta to slay him, and you are his friends, therefore leave this place.' When the man had given us this warning, Bāhuśālin and his four companions, being grieved, went by common consent to their own home in Ujjayinī. And they left me here in concealment, my friend, for your sake. So come, let us go to that very place to meet our friends." Having heard this from Nishṭhuraka, and having bewailed his parents, Śridatta cast many a look at his sword, as if reposing in that his hope of vengeance ; then the hero, biding his time, set out, accompanied by Nishṭhuraka, for that city of Ujjayinī in order to meet his friends.

And as he was relating to his friend his adventures from the time of his plunging into the stream, Śridatta beheld a woman weeping in the road ; when she said, " I am a woman going to Ujjayinī and I have lost my way," Śridatta out of pity made her journey along with him. He and Nishṭhuraka, together with that woman, whom he kept with him out of compassion, halted that day in a certain deserted town. There he suddenly woke up in the night and beheld that the woman had slain Nishṭhuraka and was devouring his flesh with the utmost delight. Then he rose up, drawing his sword Mṛigāṅka, and that woman assumed her own terrible form, that of a Rākshasī,¹ and he seized that night-wanderer by her hair, to slay her. That moment she assumed a heavenly shape and said to him : " Slay me not, mighty hero, let me go ; I am not a Rākshasī ; the hermit Viśvāmitra imposed this condition on me by a curse. For once, when he was performing austeries from a desire to attain the position of the God of Wealth, I was sent by the god to impede him. Then

¹ Female demon. The Rākshasas are often called "night-wanderers."—See Appendix I at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

finding that I was not able to seduce him with my alluring form, being abashed, I assumed, in order to terrify him, a formidable shape. When he saw this, that hermit laid on me a curse suitable to my offence, exclaiming : ‘ Wicked one, become a Rākshasī and slay men.’ And he appointed my curse should end when you took hold of my hair ; accordingly I assumed this detestable condition of a Rākshasī, and I have devoured all the inhabitants of this town. Now to-day, after a long time, you have brought my curse to an end in the manner foretold, therefore receive now some boon.’’ When he heard that speech of hers, Śridatta said respectfully : “ Mother, grant that my friend may be restored to life. What need have I of any other boon ? ” “ So be it,” she said, and after granting the boon disappeared. And Nishṭhuraka rose up again alive without a scratch on his body. Then Śridatta set out the next morning with him delighted and astonished and at last reached Ujjayinī. There he revived by his appearance the spirits of his friends, who were anxiously expecting him, as the arrival of the cloud revives the peacocks. And after he had told all the wonders of his adventures Bāhuśalin went through the usual formalities of hospitality, taking him to his own home. There Śridatta was taken care of by the parents of Bāhuśalin, and lived with his friends as comfortably as if he were in his own house.

Once on a time, when the great feast of springtide¹ had arrived, he went with his friends to behold some festal rejoicings in a garden. There he beheld a maiden, the daughter *The Princess* of King Bimbaki, who had come to see the show, *Mrigānkavatī* looking like the Goddess of the Splendour of Spring present in bodily form. She, by name Mṛigānkavatī, that moment penetrated into his heart, as if through the openings left by the expansion of his eye. Her passionate look, too, indicative of the beginning of love, fixed on him, went and returned like a confidante. When she entered a thicket of trees, Śridatta, not beholding her, suddenly felt his heart so empty that he did not know where he was. His friend Bāhuśalin, who thoroughly understood the language of gestures, said to him : “ My friend, I know your

¹ Or, more literally, of the month Chaitra—i.e. March-April.

heart, do not deny your passion, therefore come, let us go to that part of the garden where the king's daughter is." He consented and went near her, accompanied by his friend. That moment a cry was heard there which gave great pain to the heart of Śridatta : " Alas, the princess has been bitten by a snake ! " Bāhuśalin then went and said to the chamberlain : " My friend here possesses a ring that counteracts the effects of poison, and also healing spells." Immediately the chamberlain came and, bowing at his feet, quickly led Śridatta to the princess. He placed the ring on her finger and then muttered his spells, so that she revived. Then all the attendants were delighted, and loud in praise of Śridatta, and the King Bimbaki hearing the circumstances came to the place. Accordingly Śridatta returned with his friends to the house of Bāhuśalin without taking back the ring. And all the gold and other presents which the delighted king sent to him there he handed over to the father of Bāhuśalin. Then, thinking upon that fair one, he was so much afflicted that his friends became utterly bewildered as to what to do with him. Then a dear friend of the princess, Bhāvanikā by name, came to him on pretence of returning the ring, and said to him : " That friend of mine, illustrious sir, has made up her mind that either you must save her life by becoming her husband, or she will be married to her grave." When Bhāvanikā had said this Śridatta and Bāhuśalin and the others quickly put their heads together and came to the following resolution :— " We will carry off this princess secretly by a stratagem, and will go unperceived from here to Mathurā and live there." The plan having been thoroughly talked over, and the conspirators having agreed with one another what each was to do in order to carry it out, Bhāvanikā then departed. And the next day Bāhuśalin, accompanied by three of his friends, went to Mathurā on pretext of trafficking, and as he went he posted in concealment at intervals swift horses for the conveyance of the princess. But Śridatta then brought at eventide a woman with her daughter into the palace of the princess, after making them both drink spirits, and then Bhāvanikā, on pretence of lighting up the palace, set fire to it, and secretly conveyed the princess

out of it ; and that moment Śridatta, who was remaining outside, received her, and sent her on to Bāhuśalin, who had started in the morning, and directed two of his friends to attend on her and also Bhāvanikā. Now that drunken woman and her daughter were burnt in the palace of the princess, and people supposed that the princess had been burnt with her friend. But Śridatta took care to show himself in the morning, as before, in the city ; then on the second night, taking with him his sword Mṛigānka, he started to follow his beloved, who had set out before him. And in his eagerness he accomplished a great distance that night, and when the morning watch¹ had passed he reached the Vindhya forest. There he first beheld unlucky omens, and afterwards he saw all those friends of his, together with Bhāvanikā, lying in the road gashed with wounds. And when he came up all distracted they said to him : "We were robbed to-day by a large troop of horsemen that set upon us. And after we were reduced to this state one of the horsemen threw the terrified princess on his horse and carried her off. So before she has been carried a great distance, go in this direction ; do not remain near us, she is certainly of more importance than we." Being urged on with these words by his friends, Śridatta rapidly followed after the princess, but could not help frequently turning round to look at them. And after he had gone a considerable distance he caught up that troop of cavalry, and he saw a young man of the warrior caste in the midst of it. And he beheld that princess held by him upon his horse. So he slowly approached that young warrior ; and when soft words would not induce him to let the princess go, he hurled him from his horse with a blow of his foot and dashed him to pieces on a rock. And after he had slain him he mounted on his horse and slew a great number of the other horsemen who charged him in anger. And then those who remained alive, seeing that the might which the hero displayed was more than human, fled away in terror ; and Śridatta mounted on the horse with the Princess Mṛigānkavatī and set out to find those friends of his. And after he had gone a little way he and his wife got off the horse, which

¹ At nine o'clock in the morning.

had been severely wounded in the fight, and soon after it fell down and died. And then his beloved Mrigānkavati, exhausted with fear and exertion, became very thirsty. And leaving her there, he roamed a long distance hither and thither, and while he was looking for water the sun set. Then he discovered that though he had found water he had lost his way, and he passed that night in the wood roaming about, moaning aloud like a Chakravāka.¹ And in the morning he reached that place, which was easy to recognise by the carcase of the horse. And nowhere there did he behold his beloved princess. Then in his distraction he placed his sword Mrigānka on the ground and climbed to the top of a tree, in order to cast his eye in all directions for her. That very moment a certain Savara chieftain passed that way, and he came up and took the sword from the foot of the tree. Beholding that Savara chieftain, Śridatta came down from the top of the tree and in great grief asked him for news of his beloved. The Savara chieftain said : "Leave this place and come to my village ; I have no doubt she whom you seek has gone there ; and I shall come there and return you this sword." When the Savara chieftain urged him to go with these words, Śridatta, being himself all eagerness, went to that village with the chief's men. And there those men said to him : "Sleep off your fatigue." And when he reached the house of the chief of the village, being tired, he went to sleep in an instant. And when he woke up he saw his two feet fastened with fetters, like the two efforts he had made in order to obtain his beloved, which failed to reach their object. Then he remained there weeping for his darling, who, like the course of destiny, had for a moment brought him joy, and the next moment blasted his hopes.

One day a serving-maid of the name of Mochanikā came to him and said : " Illustrious sir, unwittingly you have come hither to your death. For the Savara chieftain has gone somewhither to accomplish certain weighty affairs, and when he

¹ *Anas Cusarca*, commonly called the Brahmany duck. The male has to pass the night separated from its female—if we are to trust the unanimous testimony of Hindu poets.

returns he will offer you to Chandikā.¹ For with that object he decoyed you here by a stratagem from this slope of the wild Vindhya hill, and immediately threw you into the Śridatta chains in which you now are. And it is because *maries Sundari* you are intended to be offered as a victim to the goddess that you are continually served with garments and food. But I know of only one expedient for delivering you, if you agree to it. This Savara chieftain has a daughter named Sundari, and she having seen you is becoming exceedingly lovesick ; marry her who is my friend, then you will obtain deliverance."² When she said this to him Śridatta consented, desiring to be set at liberty, and secretly made that Sundari his wife by the *gāndharva* form of marriage. And evcry night she removed his chains, and in a short time Sundari became pregnant. Then her mother, having heard the whole story from the mouth of Mochanikā, out of love for her son-in-law Śridatta, went and of her own accord said to him : " My son, Śrichanda, the father of Sundari, is a wrathful man, and will show thec no mercy ; therefore depart ; but thou must not forget Sundari." When his mother-in-law had said this, she set him at liberty, and Śridatta departed, after telling Sundari that the sword which was in her father's possession really belonged to himself.

So he again entered, full of anxiety, that forest in which he had before wandered about, in order again to search for traces of Mṛigānkavatī. And having seen an auspicious omen he came to that same place where that horse of his died before, and whence his wife was carried off. And there he saw near him³ a hunter coming towards him, and when he saw him he asked him for news of that gazelle-eyed lady. Then the hunter asked him : " Are you Śridatta ? " and he, sighing, replied : " I am that unfortunate man." Then that hunter said : " Listen, friend, I have somewhat to tell you. I saw that wife of yours wandering hither and thither lamenting

¹ A name of Durgā. Cf. Prescott's account of the human sacrifices in *The History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i, pp. 62, 63.—See Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's article on "Human Sacrifice in Central India" in *Man in India*, vol. i, pp. 57-66; also E. A. Gait's article on "Human Sacrifice (Indian)" in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. vi, pp. 849-853.—N.M.P.

² This incident reminds us of the fifth tale in Wright's *Gesta Romanorum*.

³ Or it may mean "from a distance," as Dr Brockhaus takes it.

your absence, and having asked her her story, and consoled her, moved with compassion I took her out of this wood to my own village. But when I saw the young Pulindas¹ there I was afraid, and I took her to a village named Nāgasthala, near Mathurā.² And then I placed her in the house of an old Brāhmaṇa named Viśvadatta, commanding her with all due respect to his care. And thence I came here, having learnt your name from her lips. Therefore you had better go quickly to Nāgasthala to search for her.” When the hunter had told him this Śrīdatta quickly set out, and he reached Nāgasthala in the evening of the second day. Then he entered the house of Viśvadatta and when he saw him said : “ Give me my wife, who was placed here by the hunter.” Viśvadatta when he heard that answered him : “ I have a friend in Mathurā, a Brāhmaṇa, dear to all virtuous men, the spiritual preceptor and minister of the King Sūrasena ; in his care I placed your wife ; for this village is an out-of-the-way place and would not afford her protection. So go to that city to-morrow morning, but to-day rest here.” When Viśvadatta said this, he spent that night there, and the next morning he set off, and reached Mathurā on the second day. Being weary and dusty with the long journey, he bathed outside that city in the pellucid water of a lake. And he drew out of the middle of the lake a garment placed there by some robbers, not suspecting any harm. But in one corner of the garment, which was knotted up, a necklace was concealed.³ Then Śrīdatta took that garment, and in his eagerness to meet his wife did not notice the necklace, and so entered the city of Mathurā. Then the city police recognised the garment, and finding the necklace, arrested Śrīdatta as a thief, and carried him off, and brought him before the chief magistrate exactly as he

¹ Pulinda is the name of a savage tribe.

² Mr Growse remarks : “ In Hindi the word Nāgasthala would assume the form Nāgal ; and there is a village of that name to this day in the Mahāban Pargana of the Mathurā district.”

³ A common way of carrying money in India at the present day.—In Arabia it is often carried in the turban, while in Morocco it is kept with the hashish pipe, knife, etc., in the large yellow leather bag slung underneath the haik or jellaba. I brought back several beautifully worked specimens of these bags when last in Morocco.—N.M.P.

was found with the garment in his possession ; by him he was handed up to the king, and the king ordered him to be put to death.¹

Then as he was being led off to the place of execution, with the drum being beaten behind him,² his wife Mrigānkavatī saw him in the distance. She went in a state of the Śridatta meets utmost distraction and said to the chief minister, his Uncle in whose house she was residing : " Yonder is my husband being led off to execution." Then that minister went and ordered the executioners to desist, and by making a representation to the king got Śridatta pardoned, and had him brought to his house. And when Śridatta reached his house, and saw that minister, he recognised him and fell at his feet, exclaiming : " What ! is this my uncle Vigatabhaya, who long ago went to a foreign country, and do I now by good luck find him established in the position of a minister ? " He too recognised, to his astonishment, Śridatta as his brother's son, and embraced him, and questioned him about all his adventures. Then Śridatta related to his uncle his whole history, beginning with the execution of his father. And he, after weeping, said to his nephew in private : " Do not despond, my son, for I once brought a female Yaksha into subjection by means of magic ; and she gave me, though I have no son, five thousand horses and seventy millions of gold pieces ; and all that wealth is at your disposal." After telling him this, his uncle brought him his beloved, and he, having obtained wealth, married her on the spot. And then he remained there in joy,

¹ Cf. *Samarādityasampkshēpa* 4, p. 104 *et seq.* We shall come across a similar incident in Chapter LIV, where I shall add a further note.—N.M.P.

² Cf. the last scene of "The Toy Cart" in the first volume of Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*.—See also Ryder's edition, 1905, p. 155. In the *Kaṇavera Jātaka* (318) the thief is made to wear a wreath of flowers symbolic of death, is scourged with whips and led to execution to the beat of the harsh-sounding drum. For further references see Bloomfield, "The Art of Stealing," *Am. Journ. Phil.*, vol. xliv, 3, pp. 227, 228. On the ceremonial uses of the drum see A. E. Crawley's article, "Drums and Cymbals," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. v, p. 93 *et seq.* For the use of the drum for proclamation and obtaining a royal audience see Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of Pārvanāthā* and the references there given.—N.M.P.

united with that beloved Mrigānkavatī as a bed of white lotuses¹ with the night. But even when his happiness was at its full, anxiety for Bāhuśalin and his companions clouded his heart, as a spot of darkness does the full moon. Now one day his uncle said secretly to Śridatta : “ My son, the King Sūrasena has a maiden daughter, and in accordance with his orders I have to take her to the land of Avanti to give her away in marriage ; so I will take her away on that very pretext, and marry her to you. Then, when you have got possession of the force that follows her, with mine already at your disposal, you will soon gain the kingdom that was promised you by the goddess Śrī.” Having resolved on this, and having taken that maiden, Śridatta and his uncle set out with their army and their attendants. But as soon as they had reached the Vindhya forest, before they were aware of the danger, a large army of brigands set upon them showering arrows. After routing Śridatta’s force and seizing all the wealth, they bound Śridatta himself, who had fainted from his wounds, and carried him off to their village. And they took him to the awful temple of Durgā, in order to offer him up in sacrifice, and, as it were, summoned Death with the sound of their gongs. There Sundarī saw him, one of his wives, the daughter of the chief of the village, who had come with her young son to visit the shrine of the goddess. Full of joy she ordered the brigands who were between her and her husband to stand aside, and then Śridatta entered her palace with her. Immediately Śridatta obtained the sovereignty of that village, which Sundarī’s father, having no son, bequeathed to her when he went to heaven. So Śridatta recovered his wife and his sword Mrigānka, and also his uncle and his followers, who had been overpowered by the robbers. And while he was in that town he married the daughter of Sūrasena, and became a great king there. And from that place he sent ambassadors to his two fathers-in-law, to Bimbaki and King Sūrasena. And they, being very fond of their daughters, gladly recognised him as a connection, and came to him accompanied by the

¹ The esculent white lotus (Sanskrit, *kumuda*) expands its petals at night and closes them in the daytime.

whole of their armies. And his friends Bāhuśālin and the others, who had been separated from him, when they heard what had happened, came to him with their wounds healed and in good health. Then the hero marched, united with his fathers-in-law, and made that Vikramaśakti, who had put his father to death, a burnt-offering in the flame of his wrath. And then Śridatta, having gained dominion over the sea-encircled earth, and deliverance from the sorrow of separation, joyed in the society of Mṛigānkavatī. Even so, my king, do men of firm resolution cross the calamitous sea of separation and obtain prosperity.

[M] After hearing this tale from Sangataka, the King Sahasrānika, though longing for the sight of his beloved one, managed to get through that night on the journey. Then, engrossed with his desire, sending his thoughts on before, in the morning Sahasrānika set out to meet his darling. And in a few days he reached that peaceful hermitage of Jamadagni, in which even the deer laid aside their wantonness. And there he beheld with reverence that Jamadagni, the sight of whom was sanctifying, like the incarnate form of penance, who received him hospitably. And the hermit handed over to him that Queen Mṛigāvatī with her son, regained by the king after long separation, like tranquillity with joy. And that sight which the husband and wife obtained of one another, now that the curse had ceased, rained, as it were, nectar into their eyes, which were filled with tears of joy. And the king embracing that son Udayana, whom he now beheld for the first time, could with difficulty let him go, as he was, so to speak, riveted to his body with his own hairs that stood erect from joy.¹ Then King Sahasrānika took

¹ In Sanskrit poetry horripilation is often said to be produced by joy. I have here inserted the words "from joy" in order to make the meaning clear.—It is the same as the Arabic *kush'arīrah* and the *pelo arricciato* of Boccaccio. In the *Nights*, however, horripilation is usually produced by anger; thus we read (Burton, vol. ii, p. 88): "She raged with exceeding rage, and her body-hair stood on end like the bristles of a fretful hedgehog."—N.M.R.

his Queen Mṛigāvatī with Udayana, and, bidding adieu to Jamadagni, set out from that tranquil hermitage for his own city, and even the deer followed him as far as the border of the hermitage with tearful eyes. Beguiling the way by listening to the adventures of his beloved wife during the period of separation, and by relating his own, he at length reached the city of Kauśāmbī, in which triumphal arches were erected and banners displayed. And he entered that city in company with his wife and child, being, so to speak, devoured¹ by the eyes of the citizens, that had the fringe of their lashes elevated. And immediately the king appointed his son Udayana crown prince, being incited to it by his excellent qualities. And he assigned to him as advisers the sons of his own ministers, Vasantaka and Rumanvat and Yaugandharāyaṇa. Then a rain of flowers fell, and a celestial voice was heard : “ By the help of these excellent ministers, the prince shall obtain dominion over the whole earth.” Then the king devolved on his son the cares of empire, and enjoyed in the society of Mṛigāvatī the long-desired pleasures of the world. At last the desire of earthly enjoyment, beholding suddenly that old age, the harbinger of composure, had reached the root of the king’s ear,² became enraged and fled far from him. Then that King Sahasrānika established in his throne his excellent son Udayana,³ whom the subjects loved so well, to ensure the world’s prosperity, and, accompanied by his ministers and his beloved wife, ascended the Himālaya to prepare for the last great journey.

¹ Literally, drunk in.

² Alluding to his grey hairs. In all Eastern stories the appearance of the first grey hair is a momentous epoch. The point of the whole passage consists in the fact that *jarū* (old age) is feminine in form. Cf. the perturbation of King Samson in Hagen’s *Helden-Sagen*, vol. i, p. 26, and Spence Hardy’s *Manual of Buddhism*, 1860, pp. 129 and 130.—See also *Jātakas*, Nos. 9, 411 and 541; Tawney’s *Kathākoṣa*, pp. 125, 146; Jacobi’s preface to his edition of the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 14, note 2.

Bloomfield (*Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi, Part I) has written briefly on the “Grey Hair” motif in Sanskrit literature. See *op. cit.*, p. 57, where he gives a few further references to those already mentioned—N.M.P.

³ There is a pun between the name of the King Udayana and prosperity (*udaya*).

CHAPTER XI

THEN Udayana took the kingdom of Vatsa, which his [M] father had bequeathed to him, and, establishing himself in Kauśāmbī, ruled his subjects well. But gradually he began to devolve the cares of empire upon his ministers, Yaugandharāyaṇa and others, and gave himself up entirely to pleasures. He was continually engaged in the chase, and day and night he played on the melodious lute which Vāsuki¹ gave him long ago; and he subdued evermore infuriated wild elephants, overpowered by the fascinating spell of its strings' dulcet sound, and, taming them, brought them home.²

That King of Vatsa drank wine adorned by the reflection of the moon-faces of fair women, and at the same time robbed his ministers' faces of their cheerful hue.³ Only one anxiety had he to bear; he kept thinking: "Nowhere is a wife found equal to me in birth and personal appearance; the maiden named Vāsavadattā alone has a liking for me,⁴ but how is she to be obtained?"

Chāndamahāsena also, in Ujjayinī, thought: "There is no suitable husband to be found for my daughter in the

¹ Not Vāsuki, but his eldest brother.

² Cf. the *Vidhurapandita-Jātaka* (Cambridge edition, vol. vi, p. 127), where the chief minister bewitched his hearers by his discourses on law "as elephants are fascinated by a favourite lute."—N.M.P.

³ *Chhāyā* means "colour"; he drank their colour—i.e. made them pale. It also means "reflection in the wine."

⁴ As Speyer remarks in his *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, p. 96 (in all probability to be embodied in a later volume), Brockhaus' reading purports an impossibility, as Udayana could at the most have heard of her only by name. Moreover, we find later that it is not for a long time that Vāsavadattā falls in love with Udayana, which is actually brought about by a plan of Udayana himself. The Durgāprasād text reads, *kanyakā śrūyate param*, etc., instead of *kangā kūmayate param*, etc., meaning, "there is but one maiden, they say (that suits me as a wife)," thus making much better sense.—N.M.P.

world, except one Udayana by name, and he has ever been my enemy. Then how can I make him my son-in-law and my submissive ally ? There is only one device which can effect it. He wanders about alone in the forest capturing elephants, for he is a king addicted to the vice of hunting ; I will make use of this failing of his to entrap him and bring him here by a stratagem ; and, as he is acquainted with music, I will make this daughter of mine his pupil, and then his eye will without doubt be charmed with her, and he will certainly become my son-in-law, and my obedient ally. No other artifice seems applicable in this case for making him submissive to my will."

Having thus reflected, he went to the temple of Durgā, in order that his scheme might be blessed with success, and, after worship and praise, offered a prayer to the goddess. And there he heard a bodiless voice saying : " This desire of thine, O king, shall shortly be accomplished." Then he returned satisfied, and deliberated over that very matter with the minister Buddhadatta,¹ saying : " That prince is elated with pride, he is free from avarice, his subjects are attached to him, and he is of great power, therefore he cannot be reached by any of the four usual expedients beginning with negotiation, nevertheless let negotiation be tried first."² Having thus deliberated, the king gave this order to an ambassador : " Go and give the King of Vatsa this message from me : ' My daughter desires to be thy pupil in music ; if thou love us, come here and teach her.' "

When sent off by the king with this message, the ambassador went and repeated it to the King of Vatsa in Kauśāmbī exactly as it was delivered ; and the King of Vatsa, after hearing this uncourteous message from the ambassador, repeated it in private to the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, saying : " Why did that monarch send me that

¹ I.e. given by Buddha.

² The four *upāyas*, or means of success, are : *sāman* (negotiation), which his pride would render futile ; *dāna* (giving), which appeals to avarice ; *bheda* (sowing dissension), which would be useless where a king is beloved by his subjects ; and *dāyda* (open force), of no use in the case of a powerful king like Udayana.

insolent message ? What can be the villain's object in making such a proposal ? "

When the king asked him this question, the great minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, who was stern to his master for his good, thus answered him : " Your reputation for vice¹ has shot up in the earth like a creeper, and this, O king, is its biting bitter fruit. For that King Chandamahāsena, thinking that you are the slave of your passions, intends to ensnare you by means of his beautiful daughter, throw you into prison, and so make you his unresisting instrument. Therefore abandon kingly vices, for kings that fall into them are easily captured by their enemies, even as elephants are taken in pits."

When his minister had said this to him, the resolute King of Vatsa sent in return an ambassador to Chandamahāsena with the following reply :— " If thy daughter desires to become my pupil, then send her here." When he had sent this reply, that King of Vatsa said to his ministers : " I will march and bring Chandamahāsena here in chains." When he heard that, the head minister Yaugandharāyaṇa said : " That is not a fitting thing to do, my king, nor is it in thy power to do it. For Chandamahāsena is a mighty monarch, and not to be subdued by thee. And in proof of this hear his whole history, which I now proceed to relate to thee :

6. Story of King Chandamahāsena

There is in this land a city named Ujjayinī, the ornament of the earth, that, so to speak, laughs to scorn with its palaces

¹ The chief vices of kings denounced by Hindu writers on statecraft are : hunting, gambling, sleeping in the day, calumny, addiction to women, drinking spirits, dancing, singing, playing instrumental music and idle roaming. These proceed from the love of pleasure. Others proceed from anger—viz. tale-bearing, violence, insidious injury, envy, detraction, unjust seizure of property, abuse, assault. See Monier Williams, s.v. *ryasana*.—Speaking of the vices of caliphs in the *Nights* (vol. i, p. 190), Burton has the following note.—" Injustice, Arab *Zulm*, the deadliest of monarchs' sins. One of the sayings of Mohammed, popularly quoted, is, ' Kingdom endureth with *Kufr* or infidelity (*i.e.* without accepting Al-Islam) but endureth not with *Zulm* or injustice.' Hence the good Moslem will not complain of the rule of Kafirs or Unbelievers, like the English, so long as they rule him righteously and according to his own law."—N.M.P.

of enamelled whiteness¹ Amarāvatī, the city of the gods. In that city dwells Siva himself, the lord of existence, under the form of Mahākāla,² when he desists from the kingly vice of absenting himself on the heights of Mount Kailāsa. In that city lived a king named Mahendravarman, best of monarchs, and he had a son like himself, named Jayasena. Then to that Jayasena was born a son named Mahāsena, matchless in strength of arm, an elephant among monarchs. And that king, while cherishing his realm, reflected : "I have not a sword worthy of me,³ nor a wife of good family."

Thus reflecting, that monarch went to the temple of Durgā, and there he remained without food, propitiating for a long time the goddess. Then he cut off pieces of his own flesh and offered a burnt-offering with them, whereupon the goddess Durgā, being pleased, appeared in visible shape and said to him : "I am pleased with thee; receive from me this excellent sword; by means of its magic power thou shalt be invincible to all thy enemies. Moreover, thou shalt soon obtain as a wife Angāravatī, the daughter of the Asura Angāraka, the most beautiful maiden in the three worlds. And since thou didst here perform this very cruel penance, therefore thy name shall be Chandamahāsena."

Having said this and given him the sword, the goddess disappeared. But in the king there appeared joy at the fulfilment of his desire. He now possessed, O king, two jewels, his sword and a furious elephant named Nadāgiri,

¹ *Sudhādkauta* may mean "white as plaster," but more probably here "whitened with plaster," like the houses in the European quarter of the "City of Palaces."—The real Amarāvatī could also be described as "of enamelled whiteness" owing to its numerous white sculptures. They date from about 200 B.C., and were nearly all destroyed at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. To give some idea of the enormous extent of these white marble sculptures, it is estimated that the carved figures in just the outer rail of the *stūpa* must number about 14,000. The remaining bas-reliefs are now on the walls of the chief stairway of the British Museum.—N.M.P.

² A *linga* of Siva in Ujjayinī. Siva is here compared to an earthly monarch subject to the *vṛyasana* of roaming. I take it the poet means Ujjayinī is a better place than Kailāsa.

³ Cf. the way in which Kandar goes in search of a sword in Prym and Socin's *Syrische Märchen*, p. 205.

which were to him what the thunderbolt and Airāvata are to Indra. Then that king, delighting in the power of these two, one day went to a great forest to hunt ; and there he beheld an enormous and terrible wild boar ; like the darkness of the night suddenly condensed into a solid mass in the daytime. That boar was not wounded by the king's arrows, in spite of their sharpness, but after breaking the king's chariot¹ fled and entered a cavern. The king, leaving that car of his, in revengeful pursuit of the boar, entered into that cavern with only his bow to aid him. And after he had gone a long distance he beheld a great and splendid capital, and astonished he sat down inside the city on the bank of a lake. While there he beheld a maiden moving along, surrounded by hundreds of women, like the arrow of love that cleaves the armour of self-restraint. She slowly approached the king, bathing him, so to speak, again and again in a look that rained in showers the nectar of love.² She said : " Who art thou, illustrious sir, and for what reason hast thou entered our home on this occasion ? " The king, being thus questioned by her, told her the whole truth ; hearing which, she let fall from her eyes a passionate flood of tears, and from her heart all self-control. The king said : " Who art thou, and why dost thou weep ? " When he asked her this question she, being a prisoner to love at his will, answered him : " The boar that entered here is the Daitya Angāraka by name. And I am his daughter, O king, and my name is Angāravatī. And he is of adamantine frame, and has carried off these hundred princesses from the palaces of kings and appointed them to attend on me. Moreover, this great Asura has become a Rākshasa owing to a curse, but to-day, as he was exhausted with thirst and fatigue, even when he found you, he spared you. At present he has put off the form of a boar and is resting in his proper shape, but when he wakes up from his sleep he will without fail do you an injury. It is

¹ Dr Brockhaus translates it : " Stürzte den Wagen des Königs um." Can Syandana mean " horses," like *magni currus Achilli*? If so, āhatya would mean " having killed."

² *Rasa* means " nectar," and indeed any liquid, and also " emotion," " passion." The pun is, of course, most intentional in the original.

for this reason that I see no hope of a happy issue for you, and so these teardrops fall from my eyes like my vital spirits boiled with the fire of grief."

When he heard this speech of Angāravatī's the king said to her: "If you love me, do this which I ask you. When your father awakes, go and weep in front of him, and then he will certainly ask you the cause of your agitation; then you must say: 'If someone were to slay thee, what would become of me ?¹ This is the cause of my grief.' If you do this there will be a happy issue both for you and me."

When the king said this to her she promised him that she would do what he wished. And that Asura maiden, apprehending misfortune, placed the king in concealment and went near her sleeping father. Then the Daitya woke up, and she began to weep. And then he said to her: "Why do you weep, my daughter?" She, with affected grief, said to him: "If someone were to slay thee, what would become of me?" Then he burst out laughing and said: "Who could possibly slay me, my daughter?—for I am cased in adamant all over; only in my left hand is there an unguarded place, but that is protected by the bow."

In these words the Daitya consoled his daughter, and all this was heard by the king in his concealment. Immediately afterwards the Dānava rose up and took his bath, and proceeded in devout silence to worship the god Siva. At that moment the king appeared with his bow bent, and rushing up impetuously towards the Daitya, challenged him to fight. He, without interrupting his devout silence, lifted his left hand towards the king and made a sign that he must wait for a moment. The king for his part, being very quick, immediately smote him with an arrow in that hand which was his vital part. And that great Asura Angāraka, being pierced in the vital spot, immediately uttered a terrible cry and fell on the ground, and exclaimed, as his life departed: "If that man who has slain me when thirsty does not offer water to my manes every year, then his five ministers shall perish." After he had said this that Daitya died, and the king, taking his daughter Angāravatī as a prize, returned to Ujjayinī.

¹ See note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

There the king Chāndamahāsena married that Daitya maiden, and two sons were born to him, the first named Gopālaka and the second Pālaka ; and when they were born he held a feast in honour of Indra on their account. Then Indra, being pleased, said to that king in a dream : " By my favour thou shalt obtain a matchless daughter." Then in course of time a graceful daughter was born to that king, like a second and more wonderful shape of the moon made by the Creator. And on that occasion a voice was heard from heaven : " She shall give birth to a son, who shall be a very incarnation of the God of Love, and king of the Vidyādharaś." Then the king gave that daughter the name of Vāsavadattā, because she was given by Indra being pleased with him.

[M] And that maiden still remains unmarried in the house of her father, like the Goddess of Prosperity in the hollow cavity of the ocean before it was churned. That King Chāndamahāsena cannot indeed be conquered by you, O king ; in the first place, because he is so powerful, and, in the next place, because his realm is situated in a difficult country. Moreover, he is ever longing to give you that daughter of his in marriage, but, being a proud monarch, he desires the triumph of himself and his adherents. But I think you must certainly marry that Vāsavadattā." When he heard this that king immediately lost his heart to Vāsavadattā.¹

¹ For the idea of falling in love by a mere mention or description see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vol. v, p. 132, where numerous references are given.—N.M.P.

NOTE ON THE "EXTERNAL SOUL" MOTIF

Cf. the story of Ohimé in the *Sicilianische Märchen*, collected by Laura Gonzenbach, where Maruzza asks Ohimé how it would be possible to kill him. So in *Indian Fairy Tales*, collected by Miss Stokes, Hiralāl Bāsū persuades Sonahrī Rānī to ask his father where he keeps his soul. Some interesting remarks on this subject will be found in the notes to this tale (*Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 260). See also No. 1 in Campbell's *Tales of the Western Highlands*, and Dr Reinhold Kohler's remarks in *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 100. *Cf.* also Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, pp. 80, 81 and 136, and Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 72.

In the "Gehörnte Siegfried" (Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. iii, pp. 368 and 416) the hero is made invulnerable everywhere but between the shoulders by being smeared with the melted fat of a dragon. *Cf.* also the story of Achilles. For the transformation of Chandamahāsena into a boar *cf.* Bartsch's *Sagen, Märchen und gebrauche aus Meklenburg*, vol. ii, pp. 144, 145, and Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii, p. 14. See also Schöppner's *Geschichte der Bayerischen Lande*, vol. i, p. 258.—

The idea of life depending on some extraneous object dates from the earliest times. It first appears on a papyrus of the nineteenth dynasty sold by Madame Elizabeth d'Orbigny to the British Museum in 1857. The tale which is known as "The Story of the Two Brothers" contains many interesting incidents to which we shall have to refer in a later volume. Among them is a clear account of an external soul. We read (Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, p. 10): "I shall take out my heart by magic to place it on the top of the flower of the acacia; and when the acacia is cut down and my heart falls to the ground thou shalt come to seek for it. When thou shalt have passed seven years in seeking for it, be not disheartened, but when once thou hast found it place it in a vase of fresh water; without doubt I shall live anew, and recompense the evil that shall have been done to me."

In the "Adventure of Satni-Khamois with the Mummies," which appears on a papyrus of Ptolemaic age, we find the first example of concealing an article in numerous boxes for the sake of safety. In later days this *motif* was applied to the external soul, and, as we shall see shortly, it is this form of the story which has spread through so many nations. In the Egyptian tale of Satni-Khamois the hidden article is the famous book of Thoth, which gave the possessor superhuman knowledge of every kind. It was naturally very hard to obtain, and is described as being "in the midst of the sea of Coptos in an iron coffer. The iron coffer contains a bronze coffer; the bronze coffer contains a coffer of cinnamon wood; the coffer of cinnamon wood contains a coffer of ivory and ebony; the coffer of ivory and ebony contains a coffer of silver; the coffer of silver contains a coffer of gold, and the book is in that. And there is a *schrne* (12,000 royal cubits of 52 centimetres each) of reptiles round the coffer in which is the book, and there is an immortal serpent rolled round the coffer in question" (Maspero, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 125).

The scientific study of the "external soul," or "life-index," has occupied the attention of several scholars. See, for instance, Cox, *Aryan Mythology*, vol. ii, pp. 36, 330; De Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 168; Edward Clodd on the "Philosophy of Punchkin" in the *Folk-Lore Journal*, 1884, vol. ii, p. 302; Steel and Temple's *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 404, 405; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, vol. i, pp. 347-351; Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, p. 118 *et seq.*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. ix, p. 95 *et seq.*; Sidney Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii, pp. 1-54, and his article, "Life-Token," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. viii, pp. 44-47; and Ruth Norton in her article, "The Life-Index: A Hindu Fiction Motif," in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 1920, pp. 211-224.

The subject divides itself into two main headings:

1. The life of a person is dependent on some external object.
2. The condition of a certain object shows to his friends or relations the state of a person's health or chastity.

It is only the first division with which we are concerned in this note. The other will be discussed later when the text warrants it. There is, however, the same original idea running through both varieties of "life-index." As Hartland has shown in his article, "Life-Token" (see above), there is a widespread belief of a distinct organic connection between the life-token and the person whose condition it exhibits. The life-token is derived from the doctrine of sympathetic magic, according to which any portion of a living being, though severed, remains in mystic union with the bulk, and is affected by whatever affects the bulk. This belief being so general, we find that it has entered not only into the folk-tales, but into the custom and superstition of a very wide variety of countries. Examples are given by Hartland from different parts of all five continents.

I have already shown in a note on p. 37 how it is commonly supposed that the soul wanders about in sleep, etc. We must, however, use the word "soul" with care. It is sometimes referred to in stories as "heart" or "life," or perhaps there is no direct reference except the information that if a certain object or animal is destroyed the person with whom it is mystically connected will die. In the ancient Egyptian "Story of the Two Brothers" we saw it was a "heart" which was put in the acacia-tree, not in any way hidden, but merely awaiting its fate, as the owner knew that in time the tree would be cut down and his heart would fall and so he would die. This idea, with certain alterations of details, occurs in numerous folk-tales and in the customs of savage peoples. The Eastern story-teller, always ready to exaggerate and embroider, introduced the idea of making the "soul" as hard to find as possible, thus he encases it in a series of various articles or animals and puts it in some apparently inaccessible place, which, as we have already seen, was first employed by the ancient Egyptians with regard to the magic book of Thoth.

It is this form of life-index *motif* that has spread all over India and slowly migrated to Europe via Persia, Arabia and the Mediterranean. We shall first of all consider briefly the occurrence of this *motif* in Hindu fiction.

In Freer's *Old Deccan Days*, in the "Story of Punchkin" (p. 13), the magician's life ends when a little green parrot is killed. The bird is in a cage, in the sixth of six chattees of water, in a circle of palm-trees in a thick jungle, in a desolate country hundreds of thousands of miles away, guarded by thousands of genii. In Miss Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales* the demon's life depends on a *maina* (hill-starling), in a nest, on a tree, on the other side of a great sea.

Compare D'Penha, "Folk-Lore of Salsette," *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, p. 249, and Damant, "Bengali Folk-Lore," *Ind. Ant.*, i, 171. In L. B. Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, No. 1, the "soul" is in a necklace, in a box, in the heart of a *baal* fish, in a tank. Again in No. 4 of the same collection of tales the princess is told by the Rākshasa that "in a tank close by, deep down in the water, is a crystal pillar, on the top of which are two bees. If any human being can dive into the water and bring up these two bees in one breath, and destroy them so that not a drop of blood falls to the ground, then we rākshasas shall certainly die; but if a single drop of their blood falls to the ground, then from it will start a thousand rākshasas." In Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 383, and *Ind. Ant.*, Sept. 1885, p. 250, the ogre's life depends on that of a queen bee who lives in a honey-comb on a certain tree guarded by myriads of savage bees. Compare Steel and Temple's *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 59, and Damant's article mentioned above, p. 117.

In a story appearing in H. H. Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie MSS.*, i, p. 329, the life of Māirāvana is divided up into five vital airs, which are secured in the bodies of five black bees living on a mountain 60,000 *kos* distant. (See also p. 218 of the same work.)

The bird appears to be the most popular index in Indian tales. Norton (*op. cit.*, p. 217) gives numerous references. For more usual indexes see Chilli's *Folk-Tales of Hindustan*, p. 114; Wadia's "Folk-Lore in Western India," *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, p. 318; Bompas' *Folk-Lore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 224; and Ramaswami Raju's *Tales of the Sixty Mandarins*, p. 182. In O'Connor's *Folk-Tales of Tibet*, p. 113 *et seq.*, is the unique example of one mortal being the index of another mortal. Thus the boy in whose keeping is the giant's soul is hidden in a subterranean chamber.

In the great majority of the above tales there is a captive princess, or an ogre's daughter, who falls in love with the hero and tells him the way in which the obstacles to the destruction of the demon, or Rākshasa, may be overcome.

We now turn to Persia and Arabia, where we find the "life-index" occurring in the "History of Nassar," from the Persian *Mahbūb ul-Qulūb*, reproduced in Clouston's *Group of Eastern Romances* (see p. 30); while in Arabian literature it appears in the "Story of Sayf al-Muluk and Badi'a al-Jamal" (Burton, *Nights*, vol. vii, p. 350). Here the form of the motif is unusual, as the king of the Jann was told at his birth that he would be killed by the son of a king of mankind. Accordingly, he says, "I took it [the soul] and set it in the crop of a sparrow, and shut up the bird in a box. The box I set in a casket, and enclosing this in seven other caskets

and seven chests, laid the whole in an alabastrine coffer, which I buried within the marge of yon earth-circling sea; for that these parts are far from the world of men and none of them can win thither. So now see, I have told thee what thou would'st know, so do thou tell none thereof, for it is a matter between me and thee."

In Europe we still have the "soul" hidden in numerous "wrappings" which differ with the locality of the story. In Rome ("Story of Cajesse," Busk, *Folk-Lore of Rome*) it is in a stone, in the head of a bird, in the head of a leveret, in the middle head of a seven-headed hydra. Miss Busk cites a Hungarian tale where the dwarf's life is finally discovered to be in a golden cockchafer, inside a golden cock, inside a golden sheep, inside a golden stag, in the ninety-ninth island.

In Russia (Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 103 *et seq.*) the life is in an egg, in a duck, in a casket, in an oak. In Serbia (Mijatovich's *Servian Folk-Lore*, p. 172) it is in a board, in the heart of a fox, in a mountain. Similar "wrappings" of the "soul" will be found in Albania (Dozon, p. 132), South Slavonia (Wratislaw, p. 225), Schleswig-Holstein (Mullenhoff, p. 404), Norway (Asbjornsen, No. 36; Dasent, p. 69) and the Hebrides (Campbell, p. 10). See J. Jacob's *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 238, 239.

We have thus seen that the idea of the "external soul" is of very old conception and is widely embedded in the customs and superstitions of numerous peoples of the world. This idea arose independently to a large extent, and no one nation can be definitely said to have "created" the idea, as is proved by its existence in remote corners of the globe—such as New Zealand.

The idea of using the "external soul" as an attractive story *motif* by casing it in numerous articles, etc., arose in India (although it was originally used in Egypt to hide a magical book), whence the idea has migrated, with very little alteration, to other Eastern countries and to nearly every part of Europe.—N.M.P.

CHAPTER XII

IN the meanwhile the ambassador sent by the King of [M] Vatsa in answer to Chandamahāsenā's embassy went and told that monarch his master's reply. Chandamahāsenā for his part, on hearing it, began to reflect : " It is certain that that proud King of Vatsa will not come here. And I cannot send my daughter to his Court ; such conduct would be unbecoming ; so I must capture him by some stratagem and bring him here as a prisoner." Having thus reflected and deliberated with his ministers, the king had made a large artificial elephant like his own, and, after filling it with concealed warriors, he placed it in the Vindhya forest. There the scouts kept in his pay by the King of Vatsa, who was passionately fond of the sport of elephant-catching, discerned it from a distance¹ ; and they came with speed and informed the King of Vatsa in these words : " O king, we have seen a single elephant roaming in the Vindhya forest, such that nowhere else in this wide world is his equal to be found, filling the sky with his stature, like a moving peak of the Vindhya range."

Then the king rejoiced on hearing this report from the scouts, and he gave them a hundred thousand gold pieces by way of reward. The king spent that night in thinking : " If I obtain that mighty elephant, a fit match for Nadāgiri, then that Chandamahāsenā will certainly be in my power,

¹ They would not go near for fear of disturbing it. Wild elephants are timid, so there is more probability in this story than in that of the Trojan horse. Even now scouts who mark down a wild beast in India almost lose their heads with excitement.—The hiding of men in imitation animals is rare in literature, but the introduction into a city of armed men, hidden in jars, is found in an Egyptian papyrus of the twentieth dynasty. The incident occurs in the story, " How Thutiyi took the City of Joppa." It has been translated, and well annotated, by Maspero, *Stories of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 108-144. The same idea, which will at once occur to readers, was used in the story of Ali Baba in the *Nights*. Maspero refers to this story, but makes the usual mistake of calling the jars earthenware instead of leather or sewed skins.—N.M.P.

and then he will of his own accord give me his daughter Vāsavadattā." So in the morning he started for the Vindhya forest, making these scouts show him the way, disregarding, in his ardent desire to capture the elephant, the advice of his ministers. He did not pay any attention to the fact that the astrologers said that the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment of his departure portended the acquisition of a maiden together with imprisonment.

When the King of Vatsa reached the Vindhya forest he made his troops halt at a distance, through fear of alarming that elephant, and, accompanied by the scouts only, holding in his hand his melodious lute, he entered that great forest boundless as his own kingly vice. The king saw on the southern slope of the Vindhya range that elephant looking like a real one, pointed out to him by his scouts from a distance. He slowly approached it, alone, playing on his lute, thinking how he should bind it, and singing in melodious tones. As his mind was fixed on his music, and the shades of evening were setting in, that king did not perceive that the supposed elephant was an artificial one. The elephant,¹ too, for its part, lifting up its ears and flapping them, as if through delight in the music, kept advancing and then retiring, and so drew the king to a great distance. And then, suddenly issuing from that artificial elephant, a body of soldiers in full armour surrounded that King of Vatsa. When he beheld them, the king in a rage drew his hunting-knife, but while he was fighting with those in front of him he was seized by others coming up behind. And those warriors, with the help of others, who appeared at a concerted signal, carried that King of Vatsa into the presence of Chāndamahāsena. Chāndamahāsena for his part came out to meet him with the utmost respect, and entered with him the city of Ujjayinī.

Then the newly arrived King of Vatsa was beheld by the citizens, like the moon, pleasing to the eyes, though spotted

¹ For the part played by elephants in folk-tales see W. Crooke, *Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii, pp. 238-241, and F. W. Thomas' article, "Animals," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. i, p. 514.—N.M.P.

with humiliation. Then all the citizens, suspecting that he was to be put to death, through regard for his virtues assembled and determined to commit suicide.¹ Then the King Chandamahāsena put a stop to the agitation of the citizens by informing them that he did not intend to put the monarch of Vatsa to death, but to win him over. So the king made over his daughter Vāsavadattā on the spot to the King of Vatsa to be taught music, and said to him : "Prince, teach this lady music ; in this way you will obtain a happy issue to your adventure ; do not despond." But when he beheld that fair lady the mind of the King of Vatsa was so steeped in love that he put out of sight his anger ; and her heart and mind turned towards him together ; her eye was then averted through modesty, but her mind not at all. So the King of Vatsa dwelt in the concert-room of Chandamahāsena's palace, teaching Vāsavadattā to sing, with his eyes fixed ever on her. In his lap was his lute, in his throat the quarter-tone of vocal music, and in front of him stood Vāsavadattā, delighting his heart. And that princess was devoted in her attentions to him, resembling the Goddess of Fortune in that she was firmly attached to him, and did not leave him though he was a captive.

In the meanwhile the men who had accompanied the king returned to Kauśambi, and the country, hearing of the captivity of the monarch, was thrown into a state of great excitement. Then the enraged subjects, out of love for the King of Vatsa, wanted to make a general² assault on Ujjayinī. But Rumaṇvat checked the impetuous fury of the subjects by telling them that Chandamahāsena was not to be overcome by force, for he was a mighty monarch, and besides that an assault was not advisable, for it might endanger the safety of the King of Vatsa ; but their object must be attained by policy. The calm and resolute Yaugandharāyaṇa, seeing that the country was loyal, and would not swerve from its allegiance, said to Rumaṇvat and the others : "All of you must remain here, ever on the alert ; you must guard this country, and when a fit occasion comes you must

¹ I.e. they sat in Dharnā outside the door of the palace.

² Perhaps we should read *samanthalah* one word.

display your prowess ; but I will go, accompanied by Vasantaka only, and will without fail accomplish by my wisdom the deliverance of the king and bring him home. For he is a truly firm and resolute man, whose wisdom shines forth in adversity, as the lightning flash is especially brilliant during pelting rain. I know spells for breaking through walls, and for rending fetters, and receipts for becoming invisible, serviceable at need."

Having said this, and entrusted to Rumanvat the care of the subjects, Yaugandharāyaṇa set out for Kauśāmbī with Vasantaka. And with him he entered the Vindhya forest, full of life,¹ like his wisdom, intricate and trackless as his policy. Then he visited the palace of the King of the Pulindas, Pulindaka by name, who dwelt on a peak of the Vindhya range, and was an ally of the King of Vatsa. He first placed him, with a large force at his heels, in readiness to protect the King of Vatsa when he returned that way, and then he went on, accompanied by Vasantaka, and at last arrived at the burning-ground of Mahākāla in Ujjayinī, which was densely tenanted by vampires² that smelt of carrion, and hovered hither and thither, black as night, rivalling the smoke-wreaths of the funeral pyres. And there a Brāhmaṇ-Rākshasa³ of the name of Yogeśvara immediately came up to him, delighted to see him, and admitted him into his friendship ; then Yaugandharāyaṇa by means of a charm, which he taught him, suddenly altered his shape. That charm immediately made him deformed, hunchbacked and old, and besides gave him the appearance of a madman, so that he produced loud laughter in those

¹ *Sattva*, when applied to the forest, means "animal" ; when applied to wisdom it means "excellence."

² *Vetāla* is especially used of a goblin that tenants dead bodies. See Captain R. F. Burton's *Vikram and the Vampire*. The tales will be found in the twelfth book of this work. In the fifth chapter of Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales* will be found much interesting information with regard to the Slavonic superstitions about vampires. They resemble very closely those of the Hindus. See especially p. 311 : "At cross-roads, or in the neighbourhood of cemeteries, an animated corpse of this description often lurks, watching for some unwary traveller whom it may be able to slay and eat."

³ We shall meet this gentleman again in Chapter XXXII.—N.M.P.

who beheld him.¹ And in the same way Yaugandharāyaṇa, by means of that very charm, gave Vasantaka a body full of outstanding veins, with a large stomach, and an ugly mouth with projecting teeth; then he sent Vasantaka on in front to the gate of the king's palace, and entered Ujjayinī with such an appearance as I have described. There he, singing and dancing, surrounded by Brāhmaṇ boys, beheld with curiosity by all, made his way to the king's palace. And there he excited by that behaviour the curiosity of the king's wives, and was at last heard of by Vāsavadattā. She quickly sent a maid and had him brought to the concert-room. For youth is twin brother to mirth.² And when Yaugandharāyaṇa came there and beheld the King of Vatsa in fetters, though he had assumed the appearance of a madman, he could not help shedding tears. And he made a sign to the King of Vatsa, who quickly recognised him, though he had come in disguise. Then Yaugandharāyaṇa by means of his magic power made himself invisible to Vāsavadattā and her maids. So the king alone saw him, and they all said with astonishment: "That maniac has suddenly escaped somewhere or other." Then the King of Vatsa hearing them say that, and seeing Yaugandharāyaṇa in front of him, understood that this was due to magic, and cunningly said to Vāsavadattā: "Go, my good girl, and bring the requisites for the worship of Sarasvatī." When she heard that she said, "So I will," and went out with her companions.

Then Yaugandharāyaṇa approached the king and communicated to him, according to the prescribed form, spells for breaking chains; and at the same time he furnished him

¹ Cf. the way in which the Ritter Malegis transmutes Reinhold in the story of "Dic Heimonskinder" (Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. ii, p. 86): "He changed him into an old man, a hundred years of age, with a decrepit and misshaped body, and long hair." See also p. 114. So Merlin assumes the form of an old man and disguises Uther and Ulfin (Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, translated by Liebrecht, p. 66).—In Durgāprasād's text we read that Yogeśvara "chose him" as a friend, and he is also described as bald in addition to his other attractions!—N.M.P.

² The Eastern equivalent of the mediæval court jester was nearly always a deformed dwarf.—N.M.P.

with other charms for winning the heart of Vāsavadattā, which were attached to the strings of the lute; and informed him that Vasantaka had come there and was standing outside the door in a changed form, and recommended him to have that Brāhmaṇa summoned to him. At the same time he said : “When this lady Vāsavadattā shall come to repose confidence in you, then you must do what I tell you ; at the present remain quiet.” Having said this, Yaugandharāyaṇa quickly went out, and immediately Vāsavadattā entered with the requisites for the worship of Sarasvatī. Then the king said to her : “There is a Brāhmaṇa standing outside the door, let him be brought in to celebrate this ceremony in honour of Sarasvatī, in order that he may obtain a sacrificial fee.” Vāsavadattā consented, and had Vasantaka, who wore a deformed shape, summoned from the door into the music-hall. And when he was brought and saw the King of Vatsa, he wept for sorrow ; and then the king said to him, in order that the secret might not be discovered : “O Brāhmaṇa, I will remove all this deformity of thine produced by sickness ; do not weep, remain here near me.” And then Vasantaka said : “It is a great condescension on thy part, O king.” And the king seeing how he was deformed could not keep his countenance. And when he saw that, Vasantaka guessed what was in the king’s mind, and laughed so that the deformity of his distorted face was increased ; and thereupon Vāsavadattā, beholding him grinning like a doll, burst out laughing also, and was much delighted. Then the young lady asked Vasantaka in fun the following question :—“Brāhmaṇa, what science are you familiar with ? Tell us.” So he said : “Princess, I am an adept at telling tales.” Then she said : “Come, tell me a tale.” Then, in order to please that princess, Vasantaka told the following tale, which was charming by its comic humour and variety.

7. Story of Rūpiṇikā

There is in this country a city named Mathurā, the birth-place of Kṛishṇa ; in it there was a courtesan known by the

name of Rūpiṇikā ; she had for a mother an old bawd named Makaradanshṭrā, who seemed a lump of poison in the eyes of the young men attracted by her daughter's charms. One day Rūpiṇikā went at the time of worship to the temple to perform her duty,¹ and beheld from a distance a young man. When she saw that handsome young fellow, he made such an impression upon her heart that all her mother's instructions vanished from it. Then she said to her maid : " Go and tell this man from me that he is to come to my house to-day." The maid said, " So I will," and immediately went and told him. Then the man thought a little and said to her : " I am a Brāhmaṇa named Lohajangha² ; I have no wealth ; then what business have I in the house of Rūpiṇikā, which is only to be entered by the rich ? " The maid said : " My mistress does not desire wealth from you." Whereupon Lohajangha consented to do as she wished. When she heard that from the maid, Rūpiṇikā went home in a state of excitement, and remained with her eyes fixed on the path by which he would come. And soon Lohajangha came to her house, while the bawd Makaradanshṭrā looked at him, and wondered where he came from. Rūpiṇikā for her part, when she saw him, rose up to meet him herself with the utmost respect, and clinging to his neck in her joy led him to her own private apartments. Then she was captivated with Lohajangha's wealth of accomplishments, and considered that she had been only born to love him. So she avoided the society of other men, and that young fellow lived with her in her house in great comfort.

¹ Tawney merely says naïvely, " Such people dance in temples, I believe," but we touch here upon one of the oldest and most interesting customs of religion, that of sacred prostitution. Recent research has thrown much light on this strange custom, which found its way all over the (then) civilised world. Its importance warrants more than a mere note, so I shall discuss the subject in detail in Appendix IV at the end of this volume.—N.M.P.

² Mr Growse writes to me with reference to the name Lohajangha : " This name still exists on the spot, though probably not to be found elsewhere. The original bearer of the title is said to have been one of the demons whom Kṛishṇa slew, and a village is called Lohaban after him, where an ancient red sandstone image is supposed to represent him, and has offerings of iron made to it at the annual festival."

Rūpiṇikā's mother Makaradanshṭrā, who had trained up many courtesans, was annoyed when she saw this, and said to her in private : " My daughter, why do you associate with a poor man ? Courtesans of good taste embrace a corpse in preference to a poor man. What business has a courtesan like you with affection ?¹ How have you come to forget that great principle ? The light of a red² sunset lasts but a short time, and so does the splendour of a courtesan who gives way to affection. A courtesan, like an actress, should exhibit an assumed affection in order to get wealth ; so forsake this pauper, do not ruin yourself." When she heard this speech of her mother's, Rūpiṇikā said in a rage : " Do not talk in this way, for I love him more than my life. And as for wealth, I have plenty, what do I want with more ? So you must not speak to me again, mother, in this way." When she heard this, Makaradanshṭrā was in a rage, and she remained thinking over some device for getting rid of this Lohajangha. Then she saw coming along the road a certain Rājpūt, who had spent all his wealth, surrounded by retainers with swords in their hands. So she went up to him quickly and, taking him aside, said : " My house is beset by a certain poor lover. So come there yourself to-day, and take such order with him that he shall depart from my house, and do you possess my daughter." " Agreed," said the Rājpūt, and entered that house.

At that precise moment Rūpiṇikā was in the temple, and Lohajangha meanwhile was absent somewhere, and, suspecting nothing, he returned to the house a moment afterwards. Immediately the retainers of the Rājpūt ran upon him, and gave him severe kicks and blows on all his limbs, and then they threw him into a ditch full of all kinds of impurities; and Lohajangha with difficulty escaped from

¹ Compare the seventh of Lucian's 'Εταιρικοὶ διάλογοι, where the mother blames Musarium for favouring good looks rather than wealth. " You see how much this boy brings in ; not an obol, not a dress, not a pair of shoes, not a box of ointment, has he ever given you ; it is all professions and promises and distant prospects ; always if my father should----, and I should inherit, everything would be yours----" (Fowler, iv, p. 60).—N.M.P.

² Rāginī means "affection" and also "red."

it. Then Rūpiṇikā returned to the house, and when she heard what had taken place she was distracted with grief, so the Rājpūt, seeing that, returned as he came.

Lohajangha, after suffering this brutal outrage by the machinations of the bawd, set out for some holy place of pilgrimage, in order to leave his life there, now that he was separated from his beloved. As he was going along carried off by a in the wild country,¹ with his heart burning with Garuda Bird anger against the bawd, and his skin with the heat of the summer, he longed for shade. Not being able to find a tree, he lighted on the body of an elephant which had been stripped of all its flesh² by jackals making their way into it by the hind-quarters; accordingly Lohajangha, being worn out, crept into this carcass, which was a mere shell, as only the skin remained, and went to sleep in it, as it was kept cool by the breeze which freely entered. Then suddenly clouds arose from all sides and began to pour down a pelting shower of rain; that rain made the elephant's skin contract so that

¹ *Atari* is generally translated "forest." I believe the English word "forest" does not necessarily imply trees, but it is perhaps better to avoid it here.—"Forest" comes from the Latin *foris*, "out of doors," and its connection with trees came later.—N.M.P.

² For the *vrītam* of the text I read *kritam*. Cf. this incident with Joseph's adventure in the sixth story of the *Sicilianische Märchen*. He is sewn up in a horse's skin and carried by ravens to the top of a high mountain. There he stamps and finds a wooden trap-door under his feet. In the notes Dr Köhler refers to this passage, Campbell, No. 44; the story of Sindbad and other parallels. Cf. also Veckenstedt's *Wendische Sagen*, p. 124. See also the story of "Heinrich der Löwe," Simrock's *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. i, p. 8. Dr Köhler refers to the story of "Herzog Ernst." The incident will be found in Simrock's version of the story, at p. 308 of the third volume of his *Deutsche Volksbücher*.—An incident very similar to that in our text occurs in the "Story of Janshah" (Burton, *Nights*, vol. v, pp. 341, 342): "So Janshah slit the mule's belly and crept into it, whereupon the merchant sewed it up on him and, withdrawing to a distance, hid himself in the skirts of the mountain. After a while a huge bird swooped down on the dead mule and, snatching it up, flew with it to the top of the mountain. . . ."

In the *Travels* of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela it is related that when sailors were in danger of being lost in the stormy sea that led to China, they sewed themselves in hides and, cast on the surface of the waters, were snatched up by "great eagles called Gryphons," which carried their supposed prey ashore. (See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 418.)—N.M.P.

no aperture was left,¹ and immediately a copious inundation came that way, and carrying off the elephant's hide swept it into the Ganges, so that eventually the inundation bore it into the sea. And there a bird of the race of Garuda saw that hide and, supposing it to be carrion, took it to the other side of the sea ; there it tore open the elephant's hide with its claws and, seeing that there was a man inside it, fled away. But Lohajangha was awaked by the bird's pecking and scratching, and came out through the aperture made by its beak. And finding that he was on the other side of the sea, he was astonished, and looked upon the whole thing as a daydream ; then he saw there to his terror two horrible Rākshasas, and those two for their part contemplated him from a distance with feelings of fear. Remembering how they were defeated by Rāma, and seeing that Lohajangha was also a man who had crossed the sea,² they were once more alarmed in their hearts. So, after they had deliberated together, one of them went off immediately and told the whole occurrence to King Vibhīshaṇa. King Vibhīshaṇa, too, as he had seen the prowess of Rāma, being terrified at the arrival of a man, said to that Rākshasa : " Go, my good friend, and tell that man from me, in a friendly manner, that he is to do me the favour of coming to my palace." The Rākshasa said, " I will do so," and timidly approached Lohajangha, and told him that request of his sovereign's. Lohajangha for his part accepted that invitation with unruffled calm, and went to Laṅkā with that Rākshasa as his companion. And when he arrived in Laṅkā he was astonished at beholding numerous splendid edifices of gold, and entering the king's palace he saw Vibhīshaṇa.

The king welcomed the Brāhmaṇa, who blessed him in return, and then Vibhīshaṇa said : " Brāhmaṇa, how did you manage to reach this country ? " Then the cunning Lohajangha said to Vibhīshaṇa : " I am a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Lohajangha residing in Mathurā ; and I, Lohajangha, being afflicted at my poverty, went to the temple of the god,

¹ Cf. Freer's *Old Deccan Days*, p. 164.—N.M.P.

² Referring, of course, to Rāma's defeat of Rāvaṇa and his army of Rākshasas in Laṅkā (Ceylon).—N.M.P.

and remaining fasting, for a long time performed austerities in the presence of Nārāyaṇa.¹ Then the adorable Hari¹ commanded me in a dream, saying : ‘ Go thou to Vibhīṣhaṇa, for he is a faithful worshipper of mine, and he will give thee wealth.’ Then I said : ‘ Vibhīṣhaṇa is where I cannot reach him.’ But the lord continued : ‘ To-day shalt thou see that Vibhīṣhaṇa.’ So the lord spake to me, and immediately I woke up and found myself upon this side of the sea. I know no more.” When Vibhīṣhaṇa heard this from Lohajangha, reflecting that Laṅkā was a difficult place to reach, he thought to himself: “ Of a truth this man possesses divine power.” And he said to that Brāhmaṇa: “ Remain here; I will give you wealth.” Then he committed him to the care of the man-slaying Rākshasas as an inviolable deposit, and sent some of his subjects to a mountain in his kingdom called Swarnamūla, who brought from it a young bird belonging to the race of Garuḍa ; and he gave it to that Lohajangha (who had to take a long journey to Mathurā) to ride upon, in order that he might in the meanwhile break it in. Lohajangha for his part mounted on its back, and riding about on it in Laṅkā, rested there for some time, being hospitably entertained by Vibhīṣhaṇa.

One day he asked the King of the Rākshasas, feeling curiosity on the point, why the whole ground of Laṅkā was made of wood ; and Vibhīṣhaṇa, when he heard that, explained *Why the Ground of Laṅkā was made of Wood* the circumstance to him, saying: “ Brāhmaṇa, if you take any interest in this matter, listen, I will explain it to you. Long ago Garuḍa, the son of Kaśyapa, wishing to redeem his mother from her slavery to the snakes, to whom she had been subjected in accordance with an agreement,² and preparing to obtain from the gods the nectar which was the price of her ransom, wanted to eat something which would increase his strength, and so he went

¹ Names of Vishnu, who became incarnate in the hero Kṛishṇa.

² See chap. xx, §l. 181 *et seq.* Kaśyapa’s two wives disputed about the colour of the sun’s horses. They agreed that whichever was in the wrong should become a slave to the other. Kadru, the mother of the snakes, won by getting her children to darken the horses. So Garuḍa’s mother, Vinatā, became a slave.—See Charpentier, *Die Suparṇusage*, Upsala, 1922, p. 220 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

to his father, who, being importuned, said to him : ‘ My son, in the sea there is a huge elephant and a huge tortoise. They have assumed their present form in consequence of a curse : go and eat them.’ Then Garuda went and brought them both to eat, and then perched on a bough of the great wishing-tree of paradise.¹ And when that bough suddenly broke with his weight, he held it up with his beak, out of regard to the Bālakhilyas² who were engaged in austerities underneath it. Then Garuda, afraid that the bough would crush mankind if he let it fall at random, by the advice of his father brought the bough to this uninhabited part of the earth and let it drop. Laṅkā was built on the top of that bough, therefore the ground here is of wood.” When he heard this from Vibhishana, Lohajangha was perfectly satisfied.

Then Vibhishana gave to Lohajangha many valuable jewels, as he desired to set out for Mathurā. And out of his devotion to the god Vishṇu, who dwells at Mathurā, he entrusted to the care of Lohajangha a lotus, a club, disguised as a shell and a discus all of gold, to be offered to Vishṇu the god. Lohajangha took all these and mounted the bird given to him by Vibhishana, that could accomplish a hundred thousand *yojanas*,³ and rising up into the air in Laṅkā, he crossed the sea and without any difficulty arrived at

¹ The wishing-tree of paradise is found in all Eastern religions, including Christianity. In a note on the Arabian variety Burton says (*Nights*, vol. v, p. 237): “The paradiseal tree which supplied every want. Mohammed borrowed it from the Christians (Rev. xxi, 10-21, and xxii, 1-2) who placed in their paradise the Tree of Life which bears twelve sorts of fruits and leaves of healing virtue. (See also the third book of Hermas, his *Similitudes*.) The Hebrews borrowed it from the Persians. Amongst the Hindus it appears as *Kalpavriksha*; amongst the Scandinavians as *Yggdrasil*. The curious reader will consult Mr James Fergusson’s learned work, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1873.” Reference should also be made to the article on “Tree-Worship,” by S. A. Cook, in the *Ency. Brit.*, vol. xxvii, p. 448 *et seq.*, and to that on “Trees and Plants,” by T. Barnes, in Hastings’ *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. xii, p. 235 *et seq.*, and to the general index to Frazer’s *Golden Bough*, p. 501.—N.M.P.

² Divine personages of the size of a thumb. Sixty thousand were produced from Brahmā’s body and surrounded the chariot of the sun. The legend of Garuda and the Bālakhilyas is found in the *Mahābhārata* (see De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, p. 95).

³ See note on p. 3.—N.M.P.

Mathurā. And there he descended from the air into an empty convent outside the town, and deposited there his abundant treasure, and tied up that bird. And then he went into the market and sold one of his jewels, and bought garments and scented unguents, and also food. And he ate the food in that convent where he was, and gave some to his bird; and he adorned himself with the garments, unguents, flowers and other decorations. And when night came he mounted that same bird and went to the house of Rūpiṇikā, bearing in his hand the shell, discus and mace; then he hovered over it in the air, knowing the place well, and made a low, deep sound to attract the attention of his beloved, who was alone. But Rūpiṇikā, as soon as she heard that sound, came out, and saw hovering in the air by night a being like Nārāyaṇa, gleaming with jewels. He said to her: "I am Hari come hither for thy sake"; whereupon she bowed with her face to the earth and said: "May the god have mercy upon me!" Then Lohajangha descended and tied up his bird, and entered the private apartments of his beloved hand in hand with her. And after remaining there a short time he came out and, mounting the bird as before, went off through the air.¹

In the morning Rūpiṇikā remained observing an obstinate silence, thinking to herself: "I am the wife of the god Vishṇu, I must cease to converse with mortals." And then her mother Makaradanshṭrā said to her: "Why do you behave in this way, my daughter?" And after she had been perseveringly questioned by her mother, she caused to be put up a curtain

¹ Compare the fifth story in the first book of the *Pañchatantra*, in Benfey's translation. He shows that this story found its way into Mohammedan collections, such as *The Thousand and One Nights*, and *The Thousand and One Days*, as also into *The Decameron* of Boccaccio, and other European story-books, vol. i, p. 159 *et seq.* The story, as given in the *Pañchatantra*, reminds us of the "Squire's Tale" in Chaucer. But Josephus in *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, 3, tells it of a Roman knight named Mundus, who fell in love with Paulina, the wife of Saturninus, and, by corrupting the priestess of Isis, was enabled to pass himself off as Anubis. On the matter coming to the ears of Tiberius, he had the temple of Isis destroyed and the priests crucified. (Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, vol. ii, p. 27; Liebrecht's German translation, p. 282.) A similar story is told by the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* of Nectanebos and Olympias. J. Coelho's *Contos Populares Portuguezes*, No. 71, p. 155.

between herself and her parent, and told her what had taken place in the night, which was the cause of her silence. When the bawd heard that, she felt doubt on the subject, but soon

Has his Revenge on the Bawd after, at night, she saw that very Lohajangha mounted on the bird, and in the morning Maka-
radanshṭrā came secretly to Rūpiṇikā, who still remained behind the curtain, and inclining herself humbly, preferred to her this request : “ Through the favour of the god, thou, my daughter, hast obtained here on earth the rank of a goddess, and I am thy mother in this world, therefore grant me a reward for giving thee birth : entreat the god that, old as I am, with this very body I may enter paradise. Do me this favour.”

Rūpiṇikā consented, and requested that very boon from Lohajangha, who came again at night disguised as Vishnu. Then Lohajangha, who was personating the god, said to that beloved of his : “ Thy mother is a wicked woman, it would not be fitting to take her openly to paradise ; but on the morning of the eleventh day the door of heaven is opened, and many of the Gaṇas, Siva’s companions, enter into it before anyone else is admitted. Among them I will introduce this mother of thine, if she assume their appearance. So shave her head with a razor, in such a manner that five locks¹ shall be left, put a necklace of skulls round her neck, and stripping off her clothes, paint one side of her body with lamp-black and the other with red lead,² for when she has in this way been made to resemble a Gaṇa, I shall find it an easy matter to get her into heaven.” When he had said this, Lohajangha remained a short time and then departed. And in the morning Rūpiṇikā attired her mother as he had directed ; and then she remained with her mind entirely fixed on paradise. So when night came Lohajangha appeared again, and Rūpiṇikā handed over her mother to him. Then he mounted

¹ Compare *Mahābodhi-Jātaka* (No. 528, Cambridge edition, vol. v, pp. 125, 126), where the king as a punishment to the five princes “ stript them of all their property and disgracing them in various ways, by fastening their hair into five locks, by putting them into fetters and chains and by sprinkling cow-dung over them, he drove them out of his kingdom.”—N.M.P.

² Thus she represented the Ardhā-nārisvara, or Siva half-male and half-female, which compound figure is to be painted in this manner.

on the bird, and took the bawd with him naked, and transformed as he had directed, and he flew up rapidly with her into the air. While he was in the air, he beheld a lofty stone pillar in front of a temple, with a discus on its summit. So he placed her on the top of the pillar, with the discus as her only support,¹ and there she hung like a banner to blazon forth his revenge for his ill usage. He said to her : "Remain here a moment while I bless the earth with my approach," and vanished from her sight. Then beholding a number of people in front of the temple, who had come there to spend the night in devout vigils before the festive procession, he called aloud from the air : "Hear, ye people, this very day there shall fall upon you here the all-destroying Goddess of Pestilence, therefore fly to Hari for protection." When they heard this voice from the air all the inhabitants of Mathurā who were there, being terrified, implored the protection of the god, and remained devoutly muttering prayers to ward off the calamity. Lohajangha for his part descended from the air and encouraged them to pray, and after changing that dress of his came and stood among the people, without being observed.

The bawd thought as she sat upon the top of the pillar : "The god has not come as yet, and I have not reached heaven." At last, feeling it impossible to remain up there any longer, she cried out in her fear, so that the people below heard : "Alas ! I am falling, I am falling." Hearing that, the people in front of the god's temple were beside themselves, fearing that the destroying goddess was falling upon them, even as had been foretold, and said : "O goddess, do not fall, do not fall." So those people of Mathurā, young and old, spent that night in perpetual dread that the destroying goddess would fall upon them, but at last it came to an end ; and then beholding that bawd upon the pillar in the state described,² the citizens and the king recognised her at once.

¹ She held on to it by her hands.

² Wilson remarks that this presents some analogy to the story in *The Decameron* (No. 7, Cior. 8) of the scholar and the widow, "la quale egli con un suo consiglio, di mezzo Luglio, ignuda, tutto un di fa stare in su una torre." It also bears some resemblance to the story of "The Master Thief" in Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, p. 272. The master thief persuades the priest that he will

All the people thereupon forgot their alarm and burst out laughing, and Rūpiṇikā herself at last arrived, having heard of the occurrence. And when she saw it she was abashed, and with the help of the people who were there she managed to get that mother of hers down from the top of the pillar immediately. Then that bawd was asked by all the people there, who were filled with curiosity, to tell them the whole story, and she did so. Thereupon the king, the Brāhmans and the merchants, thinking that that laughable incident must have been brought about by a sorcerer or some person of that description, made a proclamation, that whoever had made a fool of the bawd, who had deceived innumerable lovers, was to show himself, and he would receive a turban of honour on the spot. When he heard that, Lohajangha made himself known to those present, and, being questioned, he related the whole story from its commencement. And he offered to the god the discus, shell, club and lotus of gold, the present which Vibhishana had sent, and which aroused the astonishment of the people. Then all the people of Mathurā, being pleased, immediately invested him with a turban of honour, and by the command of the king made that Rūpiṇikā a free woman. And then Lohajangha, having

take him to heaven. He thus induces him to get into a sack, and then he throws him into the goose-house, and when the geese peck him, tells him that he is in purgatory. The story is Norwegian. See also Sir G. W. Cox's *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. i, p. 127.—The story in *The Decameron* (see Rigg's translation, 1906, vol. ii, p. 209 *et seq.*) can be sufficiently explained by the rubric—a scholar loves a widow lady, who, being enamoured of another, causes him to spend a winter's night awaiting her in the snow. He afterwards by a stratagem causes her to stand for a whole day in July, naked, upon a tower, exposed to the flies, the gadflies and the sun.

It is interesting to notice that scholars contend that in this tale of revenge Boccaccio introduces himself.

A. C. Lee (*The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*, pp. 259, 260) gives various examples of tricks played on lovers by a basket being drawn half-way up to the lady's window and there left till a crowd assembles. For full details reference should be made to Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, Firenze, 2nd edition, vol. ii, p. 111 *et seq.*

Cf. also chap. viii of Le Sage's *Le Diable Boiteux*, where Patrice is made to wait outside the door of two women under the pretext that the brother of one is within.—N.M.P.

wreaked upon the bawd his wrath caused by her ill usage of him, lived in great comfort in Mathurā with that beloved of his, being very well off by means of the large stock of jewels which he had brought from Laṅkā.

[M] Hearing this tale from the mouth of the transformed Vasantaka, Vāsavadattā, who was sitting at the side of the fettered King of Vatsa, felt extreme delight in her heart.

CHAPTER XIII

AS time went on Vāsavadattā began to feel a great [M] affection for the King of Vatsa, and to take part with him against her father. Then Yaugandharāyaṇa again came in to see the King of Vatsa, making himself invisible to all the others who were there. And he gave him the following information in private in the presence of Vasantaka only : " King, you were made captive by King Chandamahāsena by means of an artifice. And he wishes to give you his daughter, and set you at liberty, treating you with all honour ; so let us carry off his daughter and escape. For in this way we shall have revenged ourselves upon the haughty monarch, and we shall not be thought lightly of in the world for want of prowess. Now the king has given that daughter of his, Vāsavadattā, a female elephant called Bhadravatī. And no other elephant but Nadāgiri is swift enough to catch her up, and he will not fight when he sees her. The driver of this elephant is a man called Āshāḍhaka, and him I have won over to our side by giving him much wealth. So you must mount that elephant with Vāsavadattā, fully armed, and start from this place secretly by night. And you must have the superintendent of the royal elephants here made drunk with wine, in order that he may not perceive what is about to take place,¹ for he understands every sign that elephants give. I for my part will first repair to your ally Pulindaka in order that he may be prepared to guard the road by which you escape." When he had said this, Yaugandharāyaṇa departed.

So the King of Vatsa stored up all his instructions in his heart ; and soon Vāsavadattā came to him. Then he made all kinds of confidential speeches to her, and at last told her what Yaugandharāyaṇa had said to him. She

¹ Cf. the way in which Rüdiger carries off the daughter of King Osantrix, Hagen's *Helden-Sagen*, vol. i, p. 227.

consented to the proposal, and made up her mind to start, and causing the elephant-driver Āshādhaka to be summoned, she prepared his mind for the attempt, and, on the pretext of worshipping the gods, she gave the superintendent of the elephants, with all the elephant-drivers, a supply of spirits and made them drunk. Then in the evening, which was disturbed with the echoing roar of clouds,¹ Āshādhaka brought that female elephant ready harnessed, but she, while she was being harnessed, uttered a cry, which was heard by the superintendent of the elephants, who was skilled in elephant's language; and he faltered out in a voice indistinct from excessive intoxication: "The female elephant says she is going sixty-three *yojanas* to-day." But his mind in his drunken state was not capable of reasoning, and the elephant-drivers, who were also intoxicated, did not even hear what he said. Then the King of Vatsa broke his chains by means of the charms which Yaugandharāyaṇa had given him, and took that lute of his, and Vāsavadattā of her own accord brought him his weapons, and then he mounted the female elephant with Vasantaka. And then Vāsavadattā mounted the same elephant with her friend and confidante Kānchanamūlā; then the King of Vatsa went out from Ujjayinī with five persons in all, including himself and the elephant-driver, by a path which the infuriated elephant clove through the rampart.

And the king attacked and slew the two warriors who guarded that point, the Rājpūts Virabāhu and Tālabhaṭa. Then the monarch set out rapidly on his journey in high spirits, mounted on the female elephant, together with his beloved, Āshādhaka holding the elephant-hook. In the meanwhile in Ujjayinī the city patrol beheld those guards of the rampart lying dead, and in consternation reported the news to the king at night. Candraṁahāsenā inquired into the matter, and found out at last that the King of Vatsa had escaped, taking Vāsavadattā with him. Then the alarm spread through the city, and one of his sons named Pālaka mounted Nādāgiri and pursued the King of Vatsa. The King of Vatsa for his part combated him with arrows as he advanced, and

¹ τηρίσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὥδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ὑπάστεληνον ἐξῆγον, Thucyd., iii, 22.

Nadāgiri, seeing that female elephant, would not attack her. Then Pālaka, who was ready to listen to reason, was induced to desist from the pursuit by his brother Gopālaka, who had his father's interests at heart.

Then the King of Vatsa boldly continued his journey, and as he journeyed the night gradually came to an end. So by the middle of the day the king had reached the Vindhya forest, and his elephant, having journeyed sixty-three *yojanas*, was thirsty. So the king and his wife dismounted, and the female elephant having drunk water, owing to its being bad, fell dead on the spot. Then the King of Vatsa and Vāsavadattā, in their despair, heard this voice coming from the air : "I, O king, am a female Vidyādhara named Māyāvatī, and for this long time I have been a female elephant in consequence of a curse ; and to-day, O lord of Vatsa, I have done you a good turn, and I will do another to your son that is to be : and this queen of yours, Vāsavadattā, is not a mere mortal ; she is a goddess for a certain cause incarnate on the earth." Then the king regained his spirits, and sent on Vasantaka to the plateau of the Vindhya hills to announce his arrival to his ally Pulindaka ; and as he was himself journeying along slowly on foot with his beloved he was surrounded by brigands, who sprang out from an ambuscade. And the king, with only his bow to help him, slew one hundred and five of them before the eyes of Vāsavadattā. And immediately the king's ally Pulindaka came up, together with Yaugandharāyaṇa, Vasantaka showing them the way. The King of the Bhells ordered the surviving brigands¹ to desist, and after prostrating himself before the King of Vatsa, conducted him with his beloved to his own village.

The king rested there that night with Vāsavadattā, whose foot had been cut with a blade of forest grass, and early in the morning the General Rumanvat reached him, who had before been summoned by Yaugandharāyaṇa, who sent a

¹ The word *dasyu* here means "savage," "barbarian." These wild mountain tribes, called indiscriminately Savaras, Pulindas, Bhillas, etc., seem to have been addicted to cattle-lifting and brigandage. So the word *dasyu* comes to mean "robber." Even the virtuous Savara prince described in the story of Jimūtavāhana plunders a caravan.

messenger to him. And the whole army came with him, filling the land as far as the eye could reach, so that the Vindhya forest appeared to be besieged. So that King of Vatsa entered into the encampment of his army, and remained in that wild region to wait for news from Ujjayinī. And while he was there a merchant came from Ujjayinī, a friend of Yaugandharāyaṇa's, and when he had arrived reported these tidings : "The King Chaṇḍamahāsenā is pleased to have thee for a son-in-law, and he has sent his warder to thee. The warder is on the way, but he has stopped short of this place ; however, I came secretly on in front of him, as fast as I could, to bring your Highness information."

When he heard this the King of Vatsa rejoiced, and told it all to Vāsavadattā, and she was exceedingly delighted. Then Vāsavadattā, having abandoned her own relations, and being anxious for the ceremony of marriage, was at the same time bashful and impatient : then she said, in order to divert her thoughts, to Vasantaka, who was in attendance : "Tell me some story." Then the sagacious Vasantaka told that fair-eyed one the following tale in order to increase her affection for her husband.

8. Story of Devasmitā

There is a city in the world famous under the name of Tāmraliptā, and in that city there was a very rich merchant named Dhanadatta. And he, being childless, assembled many Brāhmans and said to them with due respect : "Take such steps as will procure me a son soon." Then those Brāhmans said to him : "This is not at all difficult, for Brāhmans can accomplish all things in this world by means of ceremonies in accordance with the scriptures. To give you an instance, there was in old time a king who had no sons, and he had a hundred and five wives in his harem. And by means of a sacrifice to procure a son there was born to him a son named Jantu, who was like the rising of the new moon to the eyes of his wives. Once on a time an ant bit the boy on the thigh as he was crawling about on his knees, so that he was very unhappy and sobbed loudly. Thereupon the whole harem was

full of confused lamentation, and the king himself shrieked out, 'My son ! my son !' like a common man. The boy was soon comforted, the ant having been removed, and the king blamed the misfortune of his only having one son as the cause of all his grief. And he asked the Brāhmans in his affliction if there was any expedient by which he might obtain a large number of children. They answered him : ' O king, there is one expedient open to you : you must slay this son and offer up all his flesh in the fire.¹ By smelling the smell of that sacrifice all thy wives will obtain sons.' When he heard that, the king had the whole ceremony performed as they directed ; and he obtained as many sons as he had wives. So we can obtain a son for you also by a burnt-offering." When they had said this to Dhanadatta, the Brāhmans, after a sacrificial fee had been promised them, performed a sacrifice : then a son was born to that merchant. That son was called Guhasena, and he gradually grew up to man's estate. Then his father Dhanadatta began to look out for a wife for him.

Then his father went with that son of his to another country, on the pretence of traffic, but really to get a daughter-in-law ; there he asked an excellent merchant of the name of Dharmagupta to give him his daughter named Devasmitā for his son Guhasena. But Dharmagupta, who was tenderly attached to his daughter, did not approve of that connection, reflecting that the city of Tāmraliptā was very far off. But when Devasmitā beheld that Guhasena, her mind was immediately attracted by his virtues, and she was set on abandoning her relations, and so she made an assignation with him by means of a confidante, and went away from that country at night with her beloved and his father. When they reached Tāmraliptā they were married, and the minds of the young couple were firmly knit together by the bond of mutual love. Then Guhasena's father died, and he himself

¹ I have already (p. 98) given cases of child murder with the hopes of obtaining offspring. I would also draw attention to an article in the *Indian Antiquary* for May 1923, "Ritual Murder as a Means of Producing Children." It consists of cases which came under the personal notice of Sir Richard Temple when he was Superintendent of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair, Andaman Islands, between 1893-1896.—N.M.P.

was urged by his relations to go to the country of Katāha¹ for the purpose of trafficking; but his wife Devasmitā was too jealous to approve of that expedition, fearing exceedingly that he would be attracted by some other lady. Then, as his wife did not approve of it, and his relations kept inciting him to it, Guhasena, whose mind was firmly set on doing his duty, was bewildered. Then he went and performed a vow in the

¹ Tawney suggested that Katāha might possibly be identified with Cathay, the mediæval name of China. His surmise, however, has been proved incorrect. It has now been traced to Kedah, one of the unfederated Malay States, which was apparently known in Southern India as Kadāram, or Katāha. The data for arriving at this conclusion is interesting.

The Chōla monarch, Rājēndra Chōla I (A.D. 1012-1052), dispatched several expeditions over the water to the East probably in defence of Tamil or Telugu settlements on the east coast of Sumatra and on the west coast of southernmost Burma, the isthmus of Kra, and Malaya. Among the inscriptions recording such events is one which tells of an expedition to Kadāram via Ma-Nakkavāram—i.e. the Nicobar Islands. For full details of the evidence derived from this inscription reference should be made to Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, Part II, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, New Imp. Series, vol. xxix, 1903, pp. 194-195; Hultzsch, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ix, No. 31, 1907-1908, p. 231; and especially pp. 19-22 of Cerdès' "Le Royaume de Çrīvijaya" in *Bull. de l'Ecole Française d'extrême Orient*, Tome XVIII, 1918. R. Sewell, in a letter to me on the subject, would trace the phonetic changes of Kedah as follows:—

Granted that Kedah was so spelt in ancient times, and that it came to be called Kadāram in South India, we can delete the "m" as a South Indian dialect suffix (e.g. *pattuna* becomes *pattanam*, *maṇḍala* is *maṇḍalam*, etc.). Then the transformation is natural enough:

ke	da	h
ka	ta	ha
{	{	{
ka	ta	ha
(or ki)	du	m

Sewell considers that the phonetic change from *ha* to *m* is not too forced.

It should be noted that the Southern Hindus knew of a Kadāram in their own country, and it is natural for people, hearing of a foreign place with a name like that of one of their own towns, to call the foreign place after their own.

There is, however, a little further evidence of considerable interest. In the Kanyakumari (Cape Cormorin) inscription of Virarajendra, verse 72 reads: "With (the help of) his forces, which crossed the seas, which were excessively powerful in arms and which had scattered away the armies of all his enemies, he burnt Katāha, that could not be set on fire by others. What is (there that is) impossible for this Rājēndra-Chōla!"

This burning of Katāha is considered by K. V. S. Aiyar to refer to the conquest of Burma. See *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. iii, Part I, 1922, pp. 120, 159, from which the above translation has been taken.—N.M.P.

temple of the god, observing a rigid fast, trusting that the god would show him some way out of his difficulty. And his wife Devasmitā also performed a vow with him. Then Siva was pleased to appear to that couple in a dream; and giving them two red lotuses, the god said to them : “Take each of you one of these lotuses in your hand. And if either of you shall be unfaithful during your separation the lotus in the hand of the other shall fade, but not otherwise.”¹

After hearing this the two woke up, and each beheld in the hand of the other a red lotus, and it seemed as if they had got one another’s hearts. Then Guhasena set out, lotus in hand, but Devasmitā remained in the house with her eyes fixed upon her flower. Guhasena for his part quickly reached the country of Katāha, and began to buy and sell jewels there. And four young merchants in that country, seeing that that unfading lotus was ever in his hand, were greatly astonished. Accordingly they got him to their house by an artifice, and made him drink a great deal of wine, and then asked him the history of the lotus, and he being intoxicated told them the whole story. Then those four young merchants, knowing that Guhasena would take a long time to complete his sales and purchases of jewels and other wares, planned together, like rascals as they were, the seduction of his wife out of curiosity, and eager to accomplish it, set out quickly for Tāmraliptā without their departure being noticed.

There they cast about for some instrument, and at last had recourse to a female ascetic of the name of Yogakaraṇḍikā, who lived in a sanctuary of Buddha; and they said to her in an affectionate manner : “ Reverend madam, if our object is accomplished by your help we will give you much wealth.” She answered them : “ No doubt you young men desire some woman in this city, so tell me all about it, I will procure you the object of your desire; but I have no wish for money. I have a pupil of distinguished ability named Siddhikarī; owing to her kindness I have obtained untold wealth.” The young merchants asked : “ How have you obtained untold wealth by the assistance of a pupil ? ” Being asked this question,

¹ See the first note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

the female ascetic said : “ If you feel any curiosity about the matter, listen, my sons, I will tell you the whole story :

8A. *The Cunning Siddhikari*

Long ago a certain merchant came here from the north ; while he was dwelling here my pupil went and obtained, with a treacherous object, the position of a serving-maid in his house, having first altered her appearance ; and after she had gained the confidence of that merchant she stole all his hoard of gold from his house and went off secretly in the morning twilight. And as she went out from the city, moving rapidly through fear, a certain Domba,¹ with his drum in his hand, saw her, and pursued her at full speed with the intention of robbing her. When she had reached the foot of a Nyagrodha tree she saw that he had come up with her, and so the cunning Siddhikari said this to him in a plaintive manner : “ I have had a jealous quarrel with my husband, and I have left his house to die, therefore, my good man, make a noose for me to hang myself with.” Then the Domba thought : “ Let her hang herself. Why should I be guilty of her death, especially as she is a woman ? ” and so he fastened a noose for her to the tree. Then Siddhikari, feigning ignorance, said to the Domba : “ How is the noose slipped round the neck ? Show me, I entreat you.” Then the Domba placed the drum under his feet, and saying, “ This is the way we do the trick,” he fastened the noose round his own throat. Siddhikari for her part smashed the drum to atoms with a kick, and that Domba hung till he was dead.² At that moment the merchant arrived in search of her, and beheld from a distance Siddhikari, who had stolen from him untold treasures, at the foot of the tree. She too saw him coming, and climbed up the tree without being noticed, and remained there on a bough, having her body concealed by the dense foliage.

When the merchant came up with his servants he saw the

¹ A man of low caste, now called Dom. They officiate as executioners.

² Cf. the way in which the widow's son, the shifty lad, treats Black Rogue in Campbell's *Tales of the Western Highlands*. (Tale xvii d., *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii, p. 303.)—Cf. Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 346 et seq., and Benfey, *Pañchatantra*, i, p. 609.—N.M.P.

Domba hanging by his neck, but Siddhikarī was nowhere to be seen. Immediately one of his servants said, "I wonder whether she has got up this tree," and proceeded to ascend it himself. Then Siddhikarī said : "I have always loved you, and now you have climbed up where I am, so all this wealth is at your disposal, handsome man ; come and embrace me." So she embraced the merchant's servant, and as she was kissing his mouth she bit off the fool's tongue. He, overcome with pain, fell from that tree, spitting blood from his mouth, uttering some indistinct syllables, which sounded like "Lalalla." When he saw that, the merchant was terrified, and supposing that his servant had been seized by a demon, he fled from that place, and went to his own house with his attendants. Then Siddhikarī, the female ascetic, equally frightened, descended from the top of the tree, and brought home with her all that wealth. Such a person is my pupil, distinguished for her great discernment, and it is in this way, my sons, that I have obtained wealth by her kindness.

8. Story of Devasmitā

When she had said this to the young merchants the female ascetic showed to them her pupil, who happened to come in at that moment, and said to them : "Now, my sons, tell me the real state of affairs—what woman do you desire ? I will quickly procure her for you." When they heard that they said : "Procure us an interview with the wife of the merchant Guhasena named Devasmitā." When she heard that, the ascetic undertook to manage that business for them, and she gave those young merchants her own house to reside in. Then she gratified the servants at Guhasena's house with gifts of sweetmeats and other things, and afterwards entered it with her pupil. Then, as she approached the private rooms of Devasmitā, a bitch, that was fastened there with a chain, would not let her come near, but opposed her entrance in the most determined way. Then Devasmitā seeing her, of her own accord sent a maid, and had her brought in, thinking to herself : "What can this person be come for ?" After she had entered, the wicked ascetic gave

Devasmitā her blessing, and, treating the virtuous woman with affected respect, said to her : " I have always had a desire to see you, but to-day I saw you in a dream, therefore I have come to visit you with impatient eagerness ; and my mind is afflicted at beholding you separated from your husband, for beauty and youth are wasted when one is deprived of the society of one's beloved." With this and many other speeches of the same kind she tried to gain the confidence of the virtuous woman in a short interview, and then taking leave of her she returned to her own house.

On the second day she took with her a piece of meat full of pepper dust, and went again to the house of Devasmitā, and there she gave that piece of meat to the bitch at the door, and the bitch gobbled it up, pepper and all. Then owing to the pepper dust the tears flowed in profusion from the animal's eyes, and her nose began to run. And the cunning ascetic immediately went into the apartment of Devasmitā, who received her hospitably, and began to cry. When Devasmitā asked her why she shed tears she said with affected reluctance : " My friend, look at this bitch weeping outside here.¹ This creature recognised me to-day as having been its companion in a former birth, and began to weep ; for that reason my tears gushed through pity." When she heard that, and saw that bitch outside apparently weeping, Devasmitā thought for a moment to herself : " What can be the meaning of this wonderful sight ? " Then the ascetic said to her : " My daughter, in a former birth I and that bitch were the two wives of a certain Brāhmaṇa. And our husband frequently went about to other countries on embassies by order of the king. Now while he was away from home I lived with other men at my pleasure, and so did not cheat the elements, of which I was composed, and my senses, of their lawful enjoyment. For considerate treatment of the elements and senses is held to be the highest duty. Therefore I have been born in this birth with a recollection of my former existence. But she in her former life, through ignorance, confined all her attention to the preservation of her character, therefore she has been degraded and born again

¹ See the second note at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

as one of the canine race ; however, she too remembers her former birth."

The wise Devasmitā said to herself : " This is a novel conception of duty ; no doubt this woman has laid a treacherous snare for me " ; and so she said to her : " Reverend lady, for this long time I have been ignorant of this duty, so procure me an interview with some charming man." Then the ascetic said : " There are residing here some young merchants that have come from another country, so I will bring them to you." When she had said this the ascetic returned home delighted, and Devasmitā of her own accord said to her maids : " No doubt those scoundrelly young merchants, whoever they may be, have seen that unfading lotus in the hand of my husband, and have on some occasion or other, when he was drinking wine, asked him out of curiosity to tell the whole story of it, and have now come here from that island to seduce me, and this wicked ascetic is employed by them. So bring quickly some wine mixed with Datura,¹ and when you have brought it, have a dog's foot of iron made as quickly as possible."

When Devasmitā had given these orders, the maids executed them faithfully, and one of the maids, by her orders, dressed herself up to resemble her mistress. The ascetic for her part chose out of the party of four merchants (each of whom in his eagerness said : " Let me go first ") one individual, and brought him with her. And concealing him in the dress of her pupil, she introduced him in the evening into the house of Devasmitā, and coming out, disappeared. Then that maid who was disguised as Devasmitā courteously persuaded the young merchant to drink some of that wine drugged with Datura. That liquor,² like his own immodesty, robbed him of his senses, and then the maids took away his clothes and other equipments and left him stark naked ; then they branded him on the forehead with the mark of a dog's foot,³

¹ Datura is still employed, I believe, to stupefy people whom it is thought desirable to rob.

² I read *ira* for the *era* of Dr Brockhaus' text.

³ Cf. the incident in the Persian story of the "Gul-i-Bakawali," or the "Rose of Bakawali" (Clouston, *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, 1889, pp. 269 and 287), where the courtesan Dilbar brands the four wicked brothers of Tāj ul-Mulūk in the same way as in our text.—N.M.P.

and during the night took him and pushed him into a ditch full of filth. Then he recovered consciousness in the last watch of the night, and found himself plunged in a ditch, as it were the hell *Avīchi* assigned to him by his sins. Then he got up and washed himself and went to the house of the female ascetic, in a state of nature, feeling with his fingers the mark on his forehead. And when he got there he told his friends that he had been robbed on the way, in order that he might not be the only person made ridiculous. And the next morning he sat with a cloth wrapped round his branded forehead, giving as an excuse that he had a headache from keeping awake so long and drinking too much. In the same way the next young merchant was maltreated when he got to the house of Devasmitā, and when he returned home naked he said : " I put on my ornaments there, and as I was coming out I was plundered by robbers." In the morning he also, on the plea of a headache, put a wrapper on to cover his branded forehead.

In the same way all the four young merchants suffered in turns branding and other humiliating treatment, though they concealed the fact. And they went away from the place without revealing to the female Buddhist ascetic the ill treatment they had experienced, hoping that she would suffer in a similar way.

On the next day the ascetic went with her disciple to the house of Devasmitā, much delighted at having accomplished what she undertook to do. Then Devasmitā received her courteously, and made her drink wine drugged with Datura, offered as a sign of gratitude. When she and her disciple were intoxicated with it, that chaste wife cut off their ears and noses and flung them also into a filthy pool. And being distressed by the thought that perhaps these young merchants might go and slay her husband, she told the whole circumstance to her mother-in-law. Then her mother-in-law said to her : " My daughter, you have acted nobly, but possibly some misfortune may happen to my son in consequence of what you have done." Then Devasmitā said : " I will deliver him even as Saktimatī in old time delivered her husband by her wisdom." Her mother-in-law

asked : " How did Śaktimatī deliver her husband ? Tell me, my daughter." Then Devasmitā related the following story :

8B. Śaktimatī and her Husband

In our country, within the city, there is the shrine of a powerful Yaksha named Manibhadra, established by our ancestors. The people there come and make petitions at this shrine, offering various gifts, in order to obtain various blessings. Whenever a man is found at night with another man's wife, he is placed with her within the inner chamber of the Yaksha's temple. And in the morning he is taken away from thence with the woman to the king's court, and his behaviour being made known, he is punished. Such is the custom. Once on a time in that city a merchant, of the name of Samudradatta, was found by a city guard in the company of another man's wife. So he took him and placed him with the woman in that temple of the Yaksha, fastening the door firmly. And immediately the wise and devoted wife of that merchant, whose name was Śaktimatī, came to hear of the occurrence ; then that resolute woman, disguising herself, went confidently at night to the temple of the Yaksha, accompanied by her friends, taking with her offerings for the god. When she arrived there the priest whose business it was to eat the offerings, through desire for a fee, opened the door to let her enter, informing the magistrate of what he had done. And she, when she got inside, saw her husband looking sheepish, with a woman, and she made the woman put on her own dress, and told her to go out. So that woman went out in her dress by night, and got off, but Śaktimatī remained in the temple with her husband. And when the king's officers came in the morning to examine the merchant, he was seen by all to be in the company of his own wife.¹

¹ A precisely similar story occurs in the *Bahār-i-Dānish*. The turn of the chief incident, although not the same, is similar to that of nov. vii, part iv, of Bandello's *Novelle*, or the *Accorto Avvedimento di una Fantesca à liberare la padrona e l'innamorato di quella de la morte*. (Wilson's *Essays*, vol. i, p. 224.) Cf. also the Mongolian version of the story in *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 320. The story of Śaktimatī is the nineteenth in the *Sūka Saptati*. I have been presented by Professor Nilmani Mukhopadhyaya with a copy of a MS. of

When he heard that, the king dismissed the merchant from the temple of the Yaksha, as it were from the mouth of death, and punished the chief magistrate. So Saktimati in old time delivered her husband by her wisdom, and in the same way I will go and save my husband by my discretion.

8. *Story of Devasmitā*

So the wise Devasmitā said in secret to her mother-in-law, and, in company with her maids, she put on the dress of a merchant. Then she embarked on a ship, on the pretence of a mercantile expedition, and came to the country of Kaṭāha where her husband was. And when she arrived there she saw that husband of hers, Guhasena, in the midst of a circle of merchants, like consolation in external bodily form. He seeing her afar off in the dress of a man,¹ as it were, drank her in with his eyes, and thought to himself : " Who may this merchant be that looks so like my beloved wife ? " So Devasmitā went and represented to the king that she had a petition to make, and asked him to assemble all his subjects. Then the king, full of curiosity, assembled all the citizens, and said to that lady disguised as a merchant : " What is your petition ? " Then Devasmitā said : " There are residing here in your midst four slaves of mine who have escaped, let the king make them over to me." Then the king said to her : " All the citizens are present here, so look at every one in order to recognise him, and take those slaves of yours." Then she seized upon the four young merchants, whom she had before treated in such a humiliating way in her house, and who had wrappers bound round their heads. Then the merchants, who were there, flew in a passion, and said to her : " These are the sons of distinguished merchants, how then can they be your slaves ? " Then she answered them : " If this work made by Babu Umeśa Chandra Gupta.—See also the "Tale of the Goldsmith" in *Hatim's Tales*, Stein and Grierson, 1923, p. 27, with Crooke's notes on p. xxiv. A good variant occurs in the *Nights* (Burton, Supp., vol. v, p. 335 *et seq.*).—N.M.P.

¹ Cf. the "Story of the Chest" in Campbell's *Stories from the Western Highlands*. It is the first story in the second volume and contains one or two incidents which remind us of this story.

you do not believe what I say, examine their foreheads, which I marked with a dog's foot." They consented, and removing the head-wrappers of these four, they all beheld the dog's foot on their foreheads. Then all the merchants were abashed, and the king, being astonished, himself asked Devasmitā what all this meant. She told the whole story, and all the people burst out laughing, and the king said to the lady : "They are your slaves by the best of titles." Then the other merchants paid a large sum of money to that chaste wife to redeem those four from slavery, and a fine to the king's treasury. Devasmitā received that money, and recovered her husband, and being honoured by all good men, returned to her own city Tāmraliptā, and she was never afterwards separated from her beloved.

[M] "Thus, O queen, women of good family ever worship their husbands with chaste and resolute behaviour,¹ and never think of any other man, for to virtuous wives the husband is the highest deity." When Vāsavadattā on the journey heard this noble story from the mouth of Vasantaka she got over the feeling of shame at having recently left her father's house, and her mind, which was previously attached by strong affection to her husband, became so fixed upon him as to be entirely devoted to his service.

¹ I read *mahākulodgutāḥ*.

1. NOTE ON THE "CHASTITY INDEX" MOTIF

Compare the rose garland in the story of "The Wright's Chaste Wife," edited for the Early English Text Society by Frederick J. Furnivall, especially lines 58 *et seq.*

"Wete thou wele withowtyn fable
 Alle the whyle thy wife is stable
 The chaplett wolle holde hewe;
 And yf thy wyfe use putry
 Or tolle eny man to lye her by
 Then wolle yt change hewe,
 And by the garland thou may see,
 Fekylle or fals yf that sche be,
 Or elles yf she be true."

See also note in Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, vol. i, p. 218. He tells us that in *Perceforest* the lily of the *Kathā Sānt Nāgara* is represented by a rose. In *Amadis de Gaula* it is a garland which blooms on the head of her that is faithful, and fades on the brow of the inconstant. In *Les Contes à Rire* it is also a flower. In Ariosto the test applied to both male and female is a cup, the wine of which is spilled by the unfaithful lover. This fiction also occurs in the romances of Tristan, Perceval and *La Morte d'Arthur*, and is well known by La Fontaine's version, *La Coupe Enchantée*. In *La Lai du Corn* it is a drinking-horn. Spenser has derived his girdle of Florimel from these sources, or more immediately from the *Fabliau*, "Le Manteau mal taillé" or "Le Court Mantel," an English version of which is published in Percy's *Reliques*, "The Boy and the Mantle" (Book III), where in the case of Sir Kay's lady we read :

"When she had tane the mantle
 with purpose for to wear,
 It shrank up to her shoulder
 and left her backside bare."

In the *Gesta Romanorum* (chap. lxix) the test is the whimsical one of a shirt, which will neither require washing nor mending as long as the wearer is constant (not the wearer only, but the wearer and his wife). Davenant has substituted an emerald for a flower :

"The bridal stone,
 And much renowned, because it chasteness loves,
 And will, when worn by the neglected wife,
 Shew when her absent lord disloyal proves
 By faintness and a pale decay of life."

I may remark that there is a certain resemblance in this story to that of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, which is founded on the ninth story of the second day in *The Decameron*, and to the seventh story in Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische*

Marchen. See also "The King of Spain and his Queen" in Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, pp. 452-455. Thorpe remarks that the tale agrees in substance with the ballad of the "Graf Von Rom" in Uhland, ii, 784; and with the Flemish story of "Ritter Alexander aus Metz und seine Frau Florentina." In the twenty-first of Bandello's novels the test is a mirror (Liebrecht's Dunlop, p. 287). See also pp 85 and 86 of Liebrecht's Dunlop, with the notes at the end of the volume.—

In considering the "Tests of Chastity," or "Faith Token" *motif*, as E. S. Hartland prefers to call it, we should be careful to differentiate from other *motifs* which are rather similar. In the *motif* with which we are here concerned the usual details are: The husband is going abroad, leaving behind a beautiful wife. Both are in love with each other, but are not unmindful of the adage, "Out of sight, out of mind," so they arrange that one of them (or both) should have a magical article to serve as an index to their actions.

Closely allied to this idea is that where the services of a chaste woman or a virgin are required. Thus in Chapter XXXVI of the *Ocean of Story* only a chaste woman could raise up the fallen elephant. As we shall see later in a note to that story, there are many variants of this *motif*.

Finally there is the "Act of Truth" *motif* (ably discussed by Burlingame in the *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, July 1917, p. 429 *et seq.*), which at times practically coincides with that mentioned immediately above. An "act of truth" is a declaration of fact accompanied by a desire for a certain thing to happen in proof of the declaration being true. Thus in making the elephant rise up (see above) the chaste woman says: "If I have not ever thought in my mind of any other man than my husband, may it rise up." As the declaration is the absolute truth, the elephant rises immediately. But the "act of truth" need not necessarily have any connection with chastity, as numerous examples (to be quoted in Chapter XXXVI) will show. Thus the elephant incident is both a "test of chastity" and "act of truth" *motif*.

In the method of leaving behind flowers (or other articles) which show the chastity of the absentee, or of the lady left at home, I would, therefore, not call the *motif* "Test of Chastity," as there is really no *test* used at all. The *test* is used in the "Act of Truth" *motif*, where, as explained above, it may be a chastity test or any other sort of test.

The name "Faith Token" is an improvement, but I think "Chastity Index" is the most suitable.

Thus the three varieties would be:

1. *Chastity Index.* Where an object by some mystical power records the chastity of an absent person.
2. *Test of Chastity.* Where a person is ready to put his or her chastity to the test, thereby achieving some wish or rendering some help in an emergency.
3. *Act of Truth.* Where the power of a simple truthful declaration (of whatever nature) causes the accomplishment of some wish or resolution.

In several cases a person before setting out on a dangerous journey will leave an object which will show if that person is hurt or killed. This idea

dates from Ptolemaic times, where, in the "Veritable History of Satni-Khamois," Tnahsit has to go to Egypt, and says to his mother : " If I am vanquished, when thou drinkest or when thou eatest, the water will become the colour of blood before thee, the provisions will become the colour of blood before thee, the sky will become the colour of blood before thee." While even earlier, in the nineteenth dynasty, the misfortune of an absent brother will be shown to the one at home by his beer throwing up froth and his wine becoming thick. This *motif* is clearly the passive side of the "Life Index" *motif* (see my note on p. 129) and has been classified as such by Dr Ruth Norton (*Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, p. 220).

In view of the above classification we find that certain incidents which at first sight seem to be variants of the *motif* in our text come under "Tests of Chastity" and are not examples of the "Chastity Index." Thus Zayn al-Asnam (Burton, *Nights*, Supp., vol. iii, p. 23) has a mirror which tests the virtue of women who look into it, remaining clear if they are pure, and becoming dull if they are not (rather like "Le Court Mantel" already mentioned). Similarly, the cup which Oberon, King of the Fairies, gave to the Duke Huon of Bordeaux immediately filled itself with wine when held in the hand of a man of noble character, but remained empty when in that of a sinner. Both of these are examples of the "Tests of Chastity" *motif* and not of the "Chastity Index."

Apart from the examples of the "Chastity Index" *motif* already given at the beginning of this note a few more can be added.

As both Clouston and Hartland have noticed, it is quite possible that "The Wright's Chaste Wife" suggested to Massinger the idea of the plot of his comedy of *The Picture* (printed in 1630), where a Bohemian knight, Mathias by name, is given a picture by his friend Baptista, which will serve as an index to his (the knight's) wife's behaviour while away at the wars. The picture is of the wife herself, and Baptista explains its properties, saying :

"Carry it still about you, and as oft
As you desire to know how she's affected,
With curious eyes peruse it. While it keeps
The figure it has now entire and perfect,
She is not only innocent in fact
But unattempted; but if once it vary
From the true form, and what's now white and red
Incline to yellow, rest most confident
She's with all violence courted, but unconquered;
But if it turn all black, 'tis an assurance
The fort by composition or surprise
Is forced, or with her free consent surrendered."

As readers will have noticed, it often happens that a story combines the "Entrapped Suitors" *motif* and that of the "Chastity Index." Thus several of the tales mentioned in my note to the story of "Upakoša and her Four Lovers" (pp. 42-44) occur again here. Moreover, the second part of the

present story may be looked upon as a variant of the "Entrapped Suitors" motif. It will be discussed in the next note.

An example of a story embodying both motifs is found in the Persian *Tūti-Nāma* (fourth night of the India Office MS., No. 2573). It bears quite a strong resemblance to the tale of Devasmitā. A soldier receives a nosegay from his wife on parting which is an index of her chastity. The husband enters the service of a nobleman, who learns the history of the unfading flowers. For a joke he sends one of his servants to tempt the wife to be unfaithful. He fails, so a second servant is sent, who likewise fails—both being entrapped by the wife. Finally the nobleman himself, in company with many retainers, including the husband, visit the wife. She receives them most courteously and his own servants are made to wait upon him at supper. The nobleman apologises for his behaviour and all is well.

For a detailed list of chastity articles see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vii, pp. 167-169. See also Swynnerton, *Indian Nights Entertainments*, p. 335.

Both Burton and Clouston mention an incident in the *Pentamerone* where a fairy gives each of a king's three daughters a ring, which would break if they became immoral. I have failed to find this, but suspect a mistake, as in the third diversion of the fourth day Queen Grazolla gives a ring to each of her three daughters, saying that if parted from each other, on meeting again, or meeting any of their relations at any time, they would always be able to recognise them (however changed or altered) by the virtue of the rings. Thus it has no bearing on our note at all.

The mystic connection between the absent person and an object left behind is fully believed in by certain peoples. Thus in Peru the husband knots a branch of Euphorbia before leaving home. If on his return the knots are withered it is a sign that his wife has been unfaithful (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxxvii, p. 439).

In the course of his researches among the Indians in the Vera Paz, Guatemala, Mr Fenton was told that when a husband goes into the bush to trap animals the wife is not expected to leave her hut to greet a visitor, but to coax him to come into the room in the same way as she hopes the animals are being coaxed into her husband's trap.

If, however, the husband is away shooting (pursuing), the wife on seeing her visitor will leave her hut and go after him to greet him.

Should the absent husband see two monkeys making love, he goes straight home and beats his wife, taking it for granted that she has been unfaithful to him.

At Siena formerly (says Hartland) a maiden who wished to know how her love progressed kept and tended a plant of rue. If it withered it was a sign that her lover had deceived her (*Archivio*, 1891, vol. x, p. 30).

Various methods of finding by means of different articles whether lovers are true exist everywhere and many examples will occur to readers.—N.M.P.

2. NOTE ON THE SECOND PART OF THE STORY
OF DEVASMITĀ

With regard to the incident of the bitch and the pepper in the story of Devasmitā see the note in the first volume of Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*. He says: "This incident with a very different and much less moral *dénouement* is one of the stories in the *Disciplina Clericalis*, a collection of stories professedly derived from the Arabian fabulists and compiled by Petrus Alfonsus, a converted Jew, who flourished about 1106 and was godson to Alfonso I, King of Aragon. In the *Analysis* prepared by Mr Douce, this story is the twelfth, and is entitled 'Stratagem of an Old Woman in Favour of a Young Gallant' She persuades his mistress, who had rejected his addresses, that her little dog was formerly a woman, and so transformed in consequence of her cruelty to her lover. (Ellis' *Metrical Romances*, i, 130.) This story was introduced into Europe, therefore, much about the time at which it was enrolled among the contents of the *Brihat-Kathā* in Kashmir. The metempsychosis is so much more obvious an explanation of the change of forms that it renders it probable the story was originally Hindu. It was soon copied in Europe, and occurs in Le Grande as *La vieille qui séduisit la jeune fille*, iii, 148 [cd. III, vol. iv, 50]. The parallel is very close and the old woman gives *une chienne à manger des choses fortement saupoudrées de senive qui lui picotent le palais et les narines et l'animal larmoyait beaucoup*. She then shows her to a young woman and tells her the bitch was her daughter. *Son malheur fut d'avoir le cœur dur ; un jeune homme l'aimait, elle le rebatta. Le malheureux après avoir tout tenté pour l'attendrir, désespéré de sa dureté en prit tant de chagrin qu'il tomba malade et mourut. Dieu l'a bien vengé ; voyez en quel état pour la punir il a réduit ma pauvre fille, et comment elle pleure sa faute.* The lesson was not thrown away.

"The story occurs also in the *Gesta Romanorum* as 'The Old Woman and her Dog' [in Bohn's edition it is tale xxviii], and it also finds a place where we should little have expected to find it, in the *Promphuarium* of John Heroit of Basil, an ample repository of examples for composing sermons: the compiler, a Dominican friar, professing to imitate his patron saint, who always *abundabat exemplis* in his discourses." (In Bohn's edition we are told that it appears in an English garb amongst a translation of Aesop's *Fables* published in 1658.) Dr Rost refers us to Th. Wright, *Latin Stories*, London, 1842, p. 218; Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*, Paris, 1838, p. 106 *et seq.*; F. H. Von der Hagen, *Gesamttaubenteuer*, 1850, I, cxii *et seq.*; and Grässle, I, i, 374 *et seq.* In Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, No. 55, vol. i, p. 359, Epomata plays some young men much the same trick as Devasmitā, and they try in much the same way to conceal their disgrace. The story is the second in my copy of the *Śuka Saptati*.—

As the story in our text is not only an excellent example of a migratory tale, but one on which the effects of new environment are plainly discernible, I shall treat the second part of the story of Devasmitā at some length.

The incident of the bitch and the pepper became at an early date a common *motif* throughout Eastern collections of stories. It enters into every cycle of tales dealing with the deceits and tricks of women—such a favourite theme in the East. In its original form (in the *Ocean of Story*) we see that the *dénouement* is much more moral than in its numerous variants, where the wife is persuaded by the wiles of the bawd and grants her favours to the lover who is introduced into her house.

In the Persian *Sindibād Nāma*, the Syriac *Sundhan*, the Greek *Syntipas* and the *Libro de los Engaños* it forms the fourth vazir's story, but in the Hebrew *Sandabar* it becomes the second vazir's story.

In the *Sindibād Nāma* the third vazir's story is "The Libertine Husband," in which an old man is married to a young and beautiful wife. He often goes away to a farm outside the city, when his wife takes advantage of his absence and meets many lovers. One day the old husband, instead of going straight home, calls on a bawd in order to be introduced to a mistress. The bawd says she knows the very woman, and leads the husband to his own wife. Being a very clever woman, she hides her own confusion and makes him believe the whole thing was a trick to expose his infidelity, which she had long suspected.

Now we find in the Arabic versions of the "bitch and pepper" incident that the Persian "Libertine Husband" story has been worked in as well, with certain slight alterations. Thus in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. vi, pp. 152-156) it appears as "The Wife's Device to Cheat her Husband." Here both husband and wife are young and good-looking. For some time past "a certain lewd youth and an obscene" has been casting loving glances at her, and accordingly employs a go-between on his behalf. The husband is away from home on business; the bawd plays the "bitch and pepper" trick with such success that she agrees to accept the attentions of the youth. All is arranged, but apparently some accident happens to the youth, as he fails to turn up at the appointed time. The bawd has been promised ten dinars, so she must produce *some* young man. She is in despair when suddenly "her eys fell on a prety fellow, young and distinguished-looking." She approaches him and asks if he has a mind to meat and drink and a girl adorned and ready. He is accordingly taken to the house and is amazed to find it is his own. The wife then avoids trouble by pretending the whole thing is a trick.

The above version is found practically unchanged in Nefzaoui's *Perfumed Garden*, p. 207 *et seq.*

In the *Tūlī-Nāma* and the *Šuka Saptati* the "bitch and pepper" incident is absent, only the "libertine husband" part occurring. In another tale from the *Šuka Saptati* (ii, p. 23 of the translation by R. Schmidt, 1899) we have a variant of the "bitch and pepper" story alone. Here the lady is the wife of a prince; a youth becomes enamoured of her, and his mother, seeing the ill effect his love has on his health, manages by the "bitch and pepper" trick to win the lady's love for her son.

For further details concerning these different forms of this *motif* in the various Eastern versions reference should be made to Comparetti's *Researches respecting the Book of Sindibād*, pp. 47-49, Folk-Lore Society, 1882; Clouston's

Book of Sindibād, pp. 58, 61 and 224 *et seq.*; and Chauvin's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, viii, pp. 45, 46, where under "La Chienne qui Pleure" will be found numerous references.

In the old German poem by Konrad of Wurtzburg (Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, vol. 1, No. 9) called "The Old Wife's Deception" is an almost exact imitation of "The Libertine Husband," except that it is the old bawd who entirely on her own account gets the two chief people in the story anxious to have a rendezvous. Details will be found in Lee, *The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*, p. 81. (He also gives numerous instances of the wife taking the place of the mistress.)

The idea of inducing a lady to take a lover by showing her the unhappy results, which were brought about in the case of another woman who was too particular in this respect, is well known from the story of "Nastagio and the Spectre Horseman," which forms the eighth novel of the fifth day of *The Decameron*. Here Nastagio fails to gain the love of a damsel of the Traversari family. One day he wanders through a pine wood and suddenly hears the cries of a woman in distress. He looks up and sees a nude woman being chased by two huge mastiffs and a knight in armour with rapier in hand. On attempting to defend the woman he is told that when alive the woman had scorned his love and he had killed himself. When the woman died it was decreed that she would be ever fleeing before him and his love would be changed to hatred. Two dogs would help in the pursuit, who would bite her in pieces and tear out and eat her cold heart. As soon as this is done the woman becomes whole again and the chase goes on. Nastagio, on discovering the phantom horseman will be in the pine wood again on the following Friday, arranges for the Traversari damsel and her kinsfolk to breakfast in the wood. In the middle of the meal, however, the company is thrown into confusion by the sudden appearance of the naked woman, the dogs and the knight. The whole scene is enacted again. Nastagio explains that it is merely a case of Heaven fulfilling its decree. The maiden, afraid of a similar fate, looks favourably on Nastagio's suit.

For further details of this part of our story reference should be made to Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 169; Keller, *Li Romans des Sept Sages*, Tübingen, 1836, p. cxlv; *Gesta Romanorum*, Oesterley, p. 499, No. 228; and Jacob's *Aesop's Fables*, vol. i, p. 266.—N.M.P.

3. A METRICAL VERSION OF THE "STORY OF DEVASMITĀ"

The following metrical version of the "Story of Devasmitā" was translated by the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM and printed in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xvi, N.S., 1884, pp. 1-12. It is reproduced here in full by kind permission of the Royal Asiatic Society, and affords an interesting comparison with our text.

UPON this earth a famous city stands
 Called Tāmraliptā ; once a merchant dwelt
 Within that town, possessed of endless wealth,
 Named Dhanadatta. Now he had no son.
 Therefore with all due reverence he called
 The priests together ; and he spoke and said :—
 " I have no son : perform, most holy Sirs !
 Such rites as may procure for me a son,
 Without delay." The Brāhmans answering
 Said : " This indeed is easy : there is naught
 Impossible to Brāhmans by the means
 Of sacred rites ordained by Holy Writ.
 This be a proof to you. In times gone by
 There lived a king, and though his wives surpassed
 By five a hundred, yet he had no son.
 At last a son—the fruit of sacrifice—
 Was born to him : to whom they gave the name
 (Of Santu : and the prince's wives were filled
 With joy as if the newly risen moon
 First broke upon their eyes. It happened once
 The child was crawling on the ground,—an ant
 Bit him upon the thigh ; and at the smart
 He sobbed and cried. Immediately there rose
 The sound of woe, and lamentation filled
 The royal palace, while the king himself
 Forgot his royal state, and cried aloud,
 ' My son ! my son ! ' Ere long the child's lament
 Was pacified—the ant removed. The king,
 Reflecting thus upon the cause which led
 To all his sorrow, thought ; ' My heart is filled
 With pain because I have, alas ! but one,
 One only son. Is there,' he asked, in grief,
 ' Most holy Brāhmans,—is there any means
 By which innumerable sons may be
 My lot ? ' They answered him, ' There is, O king,
 But one expedient. Slay this thy son,
 And offer up his flesh a sacrifice.

Thy wives shall smell the savour of his flesh
 Burnt by the fire : so shall they bear thee sons.'
 The King, obedient to the Brāhmans' word,
 Strengthened with all due pomp and ritual,
 Offered the sacrifice : and thus ere long
 Each wife bore him a son So too will we
 By sacrifice and offering procure
 A son for you." When Dhanadatta heard
 The Brāhmans, then the sacrificial fee
 He gave, and they performed the sacrifice ;
 So through that sacrifice the merchant gained
 A son, named Guhasena. Time went on,
 The boy grew up and Dhanadatta sought
 A wife for him. So then the father went
 To some far distant country with his son,
 On the pretence of traffic : but in truth
 To get his son a bride. And there he begged
 One Dharmagupta—held in high repute
 Among his fellow-citizens—to give
 His daughter Devasmitā as a bride
 To Guhasena. But the father loved
 His child, nor cared that she should be allied
 With one whose home was in a distant land.
 But Devasmitā saw the merchant's son,
 And at the sight of him, so richly graced
 With virtues, lo ! her heart fled from her grasp,
 Nor thought she more of sire or home, but sent
 A trusty friend to tell him of her love.
 And then, leaving her native land, she fled
 By night with her beloved. So they came
 To Tāmraliptā : and the youthful pair
 Were joined in wedlock, while their hearts were knit
 Together in the bonds of mutual love.

Then Guhasena's father passed away
 From earth to heaven : and kinsmen urged on him
 A journey to Kāñha, for the sake
 Of merchandise. But Devasmitā, filled
 With doubt,—fearing her husband's constancy
 Might fail, attracted by another's charms,
 Refused to listen to him when he spoke
 Of his departure. Guhasena's mind
 Was filled with doubt, on one side urged by friends
 To go, while on the other side his wife
 Was hostile to his journey. Thus what course
 He should pursue—his heart intent on right—
 He knew not. Therefore to the god he went
 With rigid fast, and now, hoping to find

His way made plain before him, through the aid
 Of the Divinity ; and with him went
 His wife. Then in a dream the god appeared
 With two red lotuses : and Śiva said—
 Placing a lotus in the hand of each :—
 “Take each of you this lotus in your hand ;
 If in your separation one shall be
 Unfaithful, then the lotus flower shall fade
 The other holds.” The pair awaking saw
 The lotus blossom in each other’s hand.
 And as they gazed it seemed as though each held
 The other’s heart. Then Guhasena went
 Forth on his journey, bearing in his hand
 The crimson lotus : while, with eyes fast fixed
 Upon her flower, Devasmitī stayed
 At home. No long time passed—in Katāha
 Arrived her husband,—making merchandise
 Of jewels. Now it happened that there dwelt
 Four merchants in that country : when they saw
 The unfading lotus ever in his hand,
 Wonder possessed them. So by stratagem
 They brought him home, and put before him wine
 In measure plentiful. And he, deprived
 Of mastery o’er his sense, through drunkenness,
 Told them the whole. Then those four merchants planned,
 Like rascals as they were, to lead astray
 The merchant’s wife through curiosity.
 For well they knew that Guhasena’s trade
 Would keep him long in Katāha engaged
 On merchandise. Therefore they left in haste
 And secrecy—to carry out their plan,
 And entered Tamraliptā. There they sought
 Some one to help them, and at last they found
 A female devotee, dwelling within
 The sanctuary of Buddha : “Honoured dame !”
 They said, addressing her with reverence,
 “Wealth shall be thine in plenty, if in this
 Our object thou wilt grant to us thy help.”
 “Doubtless,” she said, “some woman in this town
 Is your desire : tell me and you shall gain
 Your wish. I want no money : for enough
 I have, through Siddhikari’s care,—
 My pupil of distinguished cleverness,
 By whose beneficence I have obtained
 Riches untold.” “We pray thee, tell us now,”
 Exclaimed the merchants, “how these riches came
 To thee through Siddhikari.” “Listen then !”

Replied the devotee. "If you, my sons,
 Desire to hear it, I will tell the tale:—
 Some time ago a certain merchant came
 Here from the north, and while within this town
 He dwelt, my pupil, meaning treachery,
 Begged, in disguise, the post of serving maid
 In his abode: and after having gained
 The merchant's confidence, she stole away
 At early dawn, and carried off with her
 The merchant's hoard of gold. And as she went
 Out from the city, flying rapidly
 Through fear, a certain Domba followed her
 Bearing his drum, on plunder bent. At length
 In headlong flight, a Nyagrodha tree
 She reached, and seeing that her foe was close
 Behind her, putting on a look of woe
 The crafty Siddhikarī said, 'Alas !
 A grievous strife of jealousy has come
 Between my spouse and me, therefore my home
 Have I forsaken, and I fain would end
 My life; therefore I pray thee make a noose
 That I may hang myself.' The Domba thought,
 'Nay ! why should I be guilty of her death ?
 Nought is she but a woman ! let her hang
 Herself.' And therefore tying up the knot,
 He fixed it firmly for her to the tree.
 Then said she, feigning ignorance, 'This noose—
 Where do you place it ? I entreat of you
 To show me.' Then the Domba put the drum
 Upon the ground, and mounting on it, tied
 Round his own neck the noose; 'This is the way,
 He said, 'we do the job !' Then, with a kick,
 The crafty Siddhikarī smashed the drum
 To atoms : and the thievish Domba hung
 Till he was dead. Just then in view there came
 The merchant, seeking for his stolen gold.
 Standing beneath the tree, not far ahead,
 He saw his servant maid. She saw him too—
 Into the tree she climbed, unseen by him,
 And hid among the leaves. The merchant soon
 Arrived, attended by his serving men.
 He found the Domba hanging by a rope,
 But as for Siddhikarī, nought of her
 Could he perceive. One of his servants said :
 'What think you ? Has she climbed into this tree ?'
 And straightway clambered up. Then seeing him,
 'Ah ! sir,' said Siddhikarī, 'now indeed

I am rejoiced for you have ever been
 My choice. Take all this wealth, my charming friend,
 And come! embrace me ! So the fool was caught
 By Siddhikari's flattery ; and she,
 Kissing him on the lips, bit off his tongue.
 Then uttering spluttering sounds of pain, the man
 Fell from the tree, spitting from out his mouth
 The blood. The merchant seeing this, in fear and haste
 Ran homewards, thinking that his serving man
 Had been the victim of some demon foul.
 Then Siddhikari, too, not less alarmed,
 Descended from the tree, and got clear off
 With all the plunder. In this way, my sons,
 Through her ability I have obtained
 The wealth, which through her kindness I enjoy."

Just as she finished, Siddhikari came
 Into the house : and to the merchant's sons
 The devotee presented her. " My sons ! "

Said the ascetic, " tell me openly
 Your business : say what woman do you seek—
 She shall be yours." They said, " Procure for us
 An interview with Devasmitā, wife
 To Guhasena." Said the devotee,
 " It shall be done for you," and gave these men
 A lodging in her house. Then she assailed
 With bribes and sweetmeats all the slaves who dwelt
 In Guhasena's house : and afterwards
 Went there with Siddhikari. When she came
 To Devasmitā's dwelling and would go
 Within, a bitch chained up before the door
 Kept her from entering. Devasmitā then
 Sent out a maid to bring the stranger in,
 Thinking within herself, " Who can this be ? "

The vile ascetic, entering the house,
 Treated the merchant's wife with feigned respect,
 And blessed her, saying : " Long have I desired
 Exceedingly to see you : in a dream
 To-day you passed before me : therefore now
 I come with eagerness : affliction fills
 My mind when I behold you from your spouse
 Thus torn asunder. What avails your youth,
 Or what your beauty, since you live deprived
 Of your beloved ? " Thus, with flattering words,
 The ascetic tried to gain the confidence
 Of virtuous Devasmitā. No long time
 She stayed, but soon, bidding farewell, returned
 To her own house. Ere long she came again,

This time bringing a piece of meat well strewed
 With pepper dust: before the door she threw
 The peppered meat; the bitch with greediness
 Gobbled the morsel up, pepper and all
 The bitch's eyes began to flow with tears
 Profusely, through the pepper, and her nose
 To run. Then went the crafty devotee
 Within, to Devasmitā: and she wept,
 Although received with hospitality.
 Then said the merchant's wife: "Why do you weep?"
 Feigning reluctance, the ascetic said:
 "My friend! you see this bitch weeping outside;—
 Know then! this creature in a former state
 Was my companion: seeing me again
 She knew me, and she wept: my tears gush forth
 In sympathy." When Devasmitā saw
 The bitch outside seeming to weep, she thought,
 "What may this wonder be?" "The bitch and I"—
 Continuing her tale, the ascetic said—
 "Were in a former birth a Brāhmaṇa's wives.
 Our husband often was from home, engaged
 On embassies by order of the king.
 Meanwhile I spent my time with other men,
 Living a life of pleasure, nor did I
 Defraud my senses of enjoyment due
 To them. For this is said to be, my child,
 The highest duty—to indulge one's sense,
 And give the rein to pleasure. Therefore I
 Have come to earth again, as you behold
 Me now, remembering my former self.
 But she thought not of this, setting her mind
 To keep her fame unsullied: therefore born
 Into this world again, she holds a place
 Contemptible and mean: her former birth
 Still in her memory." The merchant's wife—
 Prudent and thoughtful, said within herself—
 "This doctrine is both new and strange: no doubt
 The woman has some treacherous snare for me."
 "Most reverend Dame!" she said, "too much, alas!
 I fear, have I neglected hitherto
 This duty. So, I pray you, gain for me
 An interview with some delightful man."
 The ascetic answered, "There are living here
 Some merchants, young and charming, who have come
 From afar; them will I bring you." Filled with joy
 She homeward turned: while Devasmitā said—
 Her natural prudence coming to her aid:

"These scoundrelly young merchants, whosoe'er
 They be, I know not, must have seen the flow'r
 Unfading, carried in my husband's hand.
 It may be that they asked him, over wine,
 And learnt its history. Now they intend
 To lead me from my duty : and for this
 They use the vile ascetic. Therefore bring"
 (She bid her maids) "as quickly as you may,
 Some wine mixed with Datura : and procure
 An iron brand, bearing the sign impressed
 Of a dog's foot upon it." These commands
 The servants carried out : one of the maids,
 By Devasmitā's orders, dressed herself
 To personate her mistress. Then the men,
 All eagerness, each wished to be the first
 To visit Devasmitā : but the dame
 Chose one of them : in Siddhikari's dress
 Disguising him, she left him at the house.
 The maid, clothed in her mistress's attire,
 Addressed the merchant's son with courtesy,
 Politely offering him the wine to drink
 Drugged with Datura. Then the liquor stole
 His senses from him, like his shamelessness,
 Depriving him of reason ; and the maid
 Stripped him of all his clothes, and ornaments,
 Leaving him naked. When the night had come,
 They cast him out into a filthy ditch,
 Marking his forehead with the iron brand.
 The night passed by, and consciousness returned
 In the last watch to him, and waking up
 He thought himself in hell, the place assigned
 To him for his offences. Then he rose
 From out the ditch, and went in nakedness
 Home to the devotee, the mark impressed
 Upon his forehead. Fearing ridicule,
 He said that he had been beset by thieves
 Upon the way, and all day long at home
 He sat, a cloth bound round his head to hide
 The brand, saying that sleeplessness and wine
 Had made his head ache. In the self-same way
 They served the second merchant. He returned
 Home naked ; and he said, "While on the road
 From Devasmitā's house, I was attacked
 By robbers, and they stripped me of my clothes,
 And ornaments." He sat with bandaged head
 To hide the brand, and made the same excuse.
 Thus all the four suffered the same disgrace,

And all concealed their shame ; nor did they tell
 Their ills to the ascetic when they left
 Her dwelling : for they trusted that a plight
 Like theirs would be her lot. Next day she went,
 Followed by her disciple, to the house
 Of Devasmitā ; and her mind was filled
 Full of delight, because she had achieved
 Her end so happily. With reverence
 The merchant's wife received the devotee,
 And feigning gratitude, with courteous speech
 Offered her wine mixed with the harmful drug.
 The ascetic drank : and her disciple : both
 Were overcome. Then helpless as they were
 By Devasmita's orders they were cast,
 With ears and noses slit, into a pool
 Of filthy mud. Then Devasmitā thought,
 " Perchance these merchants may revenge themselves
 And slay my husband." So she told the tale
 To Guhasena's mother. " Well, my child,"
 Answered her husband's mother, " have you done
 Your duty ! Still misfortune may befall
 My son through this." " I will deliver him,"
 Said Devasmitā, " as in times gone by
 By wisdom Śaktimati saved her spouse."
 " My daughter, how was this ! tell me, I pray."
 Then answered Devasmitā, " In our land
 Within this city stands an ancient fane,
 The dwelling of a Yaksha : and his name
 Is Munibhadra. There the people come
 And offer up their prayers, and make their gifts,
 To gain from heaven the blessings they desire.
 If it so happen that a man is caught
 At night with someone else's wife, the pair
 Are placed within the temple's inmost shrine.
 Next morning they are brought before the king,
 Sentence is passed on them, and punishment
 Decreed. Now in that town the city guards
 Once found a merchant with another's wife ;
 And therefore by the law the two were seized
 And placed within the temple : while the door
 Was firmly shut and barred. The merchant's wife,
 Whose name was Śaktimati, came to learn
 Her husband's trouble ; and she boldly went
 By night with her companions to the shrine,
 Bearing her off'rings for the god. The priest,
 Whose duty was to eat the offering,
 Beheld her come : desirous of the fee,

He let her in, telling the magistrate
 What he had done. Then Śaktimatī saw
 Her husband looking like a fool, within
 The inner room, in company with him
 The woman. So she took her own disguise
 And putting it upon the woman, bade
 Her flee with haste. But Śaktimatī stayed
 Within the shrine. Day broke ; the officers
 Came to investigate the merchant's crime,
 And lo ! within the temple's inner room
 They found the merchant and—his wife. The king,
 Hearing the tale, punished the city guard
 But set the merchant free. So he escaped,
 As if held in the very jaws of death,
 Out of the Yaksha's temple. So will I,
 As Śaktimatī did, in bygone times,
 By wisdom and discretion save my spouse."

Thus Devasmitā spoke : and putting on
 A merchant's dress, she started with her maids
 Under pretence of merchandise to join
 Her husband at Kaṭāha. When she came
 To that fair country, she beheld him sit,
 Like comfort come to earth in human form,
 Amid the merchants. He beholding her
 Afar, clothed in a merchant's dress, then thought ;—
 "Who can this merchant be, so like my wife
 In form and feature ?" Earnestly he gazed
 Upon her face. Then Devasmitā went
 And begged the king to send throughout his realm
 And summon all his subjects ; for she had
 A boon she fain would ask of him. The king
 Convoking, full of curiosity,
 His citizens, addressed that lady clothed
 In man's attire, and said, "What do you ask ?"
 Then answered Devasmitā, "In your town
 Four slaves of mine are living, who have run
 Away. I pray you, noble king, restore
 My slaves." "The citizens," replied the king,
 "Are all before you, therefore recognise
 And take your slaves." Then Devasmitā seized
 The four young merchants, whom she had disgraced
 And treated so disdainfully : their heads
 Still bound about with wrappers. Then enraged,
 The merchants of the city said, "Why, these
 Are sons of honourable men : then how
 Can they be slaves to you ?" She answered them :
 "If you believe me not, here is the proof :—

Take from their heads the bandage ; you will see
A dog's foot on their forehead : with this brand
I marked them." Then the wrappers were removed
And on their foreheads all beheld the mark—
The dog's foot brand. Then were the merchants filled
With shame : the king himself in wonder said :
"Pray, what means this?" Then Devasmitā told
The story. Laughter filled the crowd. the king
Turned to the merchant's wife : "There are your slaves,"
He said ; "your claim indeed none may dispute."
Then all the merchants in the city gave
Vast sums of money to the prudent wife
Of Guhasena, to redeem the four
Young men from slavery : and to the king
They paid a fine. Thus Devasmitā gained
Money, and honour too, from all good men.
Then to her native city she returned,
Even to Tāmraliptā, never more
To be disjoined from her beloved lord.

CHAPTER XIV

ACCORDINGLY while the King of Vatsa was remaining in that Vindhya forest the warder of King Chandamahāsena came to him. And when he arrived he did obeisance to the king, and spoke as follows:—“The King Chandamahāsena sends you this message: ‘You did rightly in carrying off Vāsavadattā yourself, for I had brought you to my Court with this very object; and the reason I did not myself give her to you while you were a prisoner was that I feared, if I did so, you might not be well disposed towards me. Now, O king, I ask you to wait a little, in order that the marriage of my daughter may not be performed without due ceremonies. For my son Gopālaka will soon arrive in your Court, and he will celebrate with appropriate ceremonies the marriage of that sister of his.’” This message the warder brought to the King of Vatsa, and said various things to Vāsavadattā.

Then the King of Vatsa, being pleased, determined on going to Kauśambi with Vāsavadattā, who was also in high spirits. He told his ally Pulindaka and that warder in the service of his father-in-law to await, where they were, the arrival of Gopālaka, and then to come with him to Kauśambi. Then the great king set out early the next day for his own city with that Queen Vāsavadattā, followed by huge elephants raining streams of ichor that seemed like moving peaks of the Vindhya range accompanying him out of affection; he was, as it were, praised by the earth, that outdid the compositions of his minstrels, while it rang with the hoofs of his horses and the tramplings of his soldiers; and by means of the towering clouds of dust from his army, that ascended to heaven, he made Indra fear that the mountains were sporting with unshorn wings.¹

¹ Alluding to Indra's having cut the wings of the mountains.—This fine exaggeration was borrowed by the Persians and appears in Firdausī, where the trampling of men and horses raises such a dust that it takes one

Then the king reached his country in two or three days, and rested one night in a palace belonging to Rumanvat; and on the next day, accompanied by his beloved, he enjoyed, after a long absence, the great delight of entering Kauśāmbī, the people of which were eagerly looking with uplifted faces for his approach. And then that city was resplendent as a wife, her lord having returned after a long absence, beginning her adornment and auspicious bathing vicariously by means of her women; and there the citizens, their sorrow now at an end, beheld the King of Vatsa accompanied by his bride, as peacocks behold a cloud accompanied by lightning¹; and the wives of the citizens, standing on the tops of the palaces, filled the heaven with their faces, that had the appearance of golden lotuses blooming in the heavenly Ganges. Then the King of Vatsa entered his royal palace with Vāsavadattā, who seemed like a second goddess of royal fortune; and that palace then shone as if it had just awaked from sleep, full of kings who had come to show their devotion, festive with songs of minstrels.² Not long after came Gopälaka, the brother of Vāsavadattā, bringing with him the warden and Pulindaka. The king went to meet him, and Vāsavadattā received him with her eyes expanded with delight, as if he were a second spirit of joy. While she was looking at this brother a tear dimmed her eyes lest she should be ashamed; and then she, being encouraged by him with the words of her father's message, considered that her object in life was attained, now that she was reunited to her own relations.

Then on the next day Gopälaka, with the utmost eagerness, set about the high festival of her marriage with the King of Vatsa, carefully observing all prescribed ceremonies. Then the King of Vatsa received the hand of Vāsavadattā,

layer (of the seven) from earth and adds it to the (seven of the) heavens. In the *Nights* (Burton, vol. iii, p. 83) we read:

“The courser chargeth on battling foe,
Mixing heaven on high with the earth down low.”—N.M.P.

¹ The peafowl are delighted at the approach of the rainy season, when “their sorrow” comes to an end.

² It is often the duty of these minstrels to wake the king with their songs.

like a beautiful shoot lately budded on the creeper of love. She too, with her eyes closed through the great joy of touching her beloved's hand, having her limbs bathed in perspiration accompanied with trembling, covered all over with extreme horripilation,¹ appeared at that moment as if struck by the god of the flowery bow with the arrow of bewilderment, the weapon of wind and the water weapon in quick succession²; when she walked round the fire, keeping it to the right,³ her eyes being red with the smoke, she had her first taste, so to speak, of the sweetness of honey and wine.⁴ Then by means of the jewels brought by Gopālaka, and the gifts of the kings, the monarch of Vatsa became a real king of kings.⁵

That bride and bridegroom, after their marriage had been celebrated, first exhibited themselves to the eyes of the people and then entered their private apartments. Then the King of Vatsa, on the day so auspicious to himself, invested Gopālaka and Pulindaka with turbans of honour and other distinctions, and he commissioned Yaugandharāyana and Rumanvat to confer appropriate distinctions on the kings who had come to visit him, and on the citizens. Then Yaugandharāyana said to Rumanvat: "The king has given us a difficult commission, for men's feelings are hard to discover. And even a child will certainly do mischief if not pleased. To illustrate this point, listen to the tale of the child Vinashtaka, my friend:

9. Story of the Clever Deformed Child

Once on a time there was a certain Brāhmaṇa named Rudraśarman, and he, when he became a householder, had two wives, and one of his wives gave birth to a son and died;

¹ See note on p. 120.—N.M.P.

² Weapons well known in Hindu mythology. See the sixth act of the *Uttara Rāma Charita*.

³ See note at the end of the chapter.—N.M.P.

⁴ *Sūtrapātam akarol*=she tested, so to speak. Cf. *Taranga* 24, sl. 93. The fact is, the smoke made her eyes as red as if she had been drinking.

⁵ Or "like Kuvera." There is a pun here.

and then the Brāhmaṇa entrusted that son to the care of his stepmother ; and when he grew to a tolerable stature she gave him coarse food ; the consequence was, the boy became pale and got a swollen stomach. Then Rudraśarman said to that second wife : “ How comes it that you have neglected this child of mine that has lost its mother ? ” She said to her husband : “ Though I take affectionate care of him, he is nevertheless the strange object you see. What am I to do with him ? ” Whereupon the Brāhmaṇa thought : “ No doubt it is the child’s nature to be like this.” For who sees through the deceitfulness of the speeches of women uttered with affected simplicity ?

Then that child began to go by the name of Bālavinashṭaka¹ in his father’s house, because they said this child (*bāla*) is deformed (*vinashṭa*).

Then Bālavinashṭaka thought to himself : “ This stepmother of mine is always ill-treating me, therefore I had better be revenged upon her in some way ”—for though the boy was only a little more than five years old he was clever enough. Then he said secretly to his father when he returned from the king’s Court, with half-suppressed voice² : “ Papa, I have two papas.”

So the boy said every day, and his father, suspecting that his wife had a paramour, would not even touch her. She for her part thought : “ Why is my husband angry without my being guilty ? I wonder whether Bālavinashṭaka has been at any tricks.” So she washed Bālavinashṭaka with careful kindness, and gave him dainty food, and, taking him on her lap, asked him the following question :—“ My son, why have you incensed your father Rudraśarman against me ? ” When he heard that, the boy said to his stepmother : “ I will do more harm to you than that, if you do not immediately cease ill-treating me. You take good care of your own children ; why do you perpetually torment me ? ”

When she heard that, she bowed before him, and said

¹ Young deformed.

² Durgāprasād’s text reads *avispāṣṭayā girā* (instead of *ardhāviṣṭayā girā*), meaning “ with his inarticulate voice,” which is perhaps more suitable here.—N.M.P.

with solemn oath : "I will not do so any more ; so reconcile my husband to me." Then the child said to her : "Well, when my father comes home, let one of your maids show him a mirror, and leave the rest to me." She said, "Very well," and by her orders a maid showed a mirror to her husband as soon as he returned home.

Thereupon the child, pointing out the reflection of his father in the mirror, said : "There is my second father." When he heard that, Rudraśarman dismissed his suspicions and was immediately reconciled to his wife, whom he had blamed without cause.¹

¹ Tales of precocious children are widely spread both in the East and West. In the *Simhāsana-dvātriṁśikā* (or *Thirty-two Tales of a Throne*) the sagacity of a young boy brings a jewel thief and his accomplices to justice. There is one *Enfant Terrible* story which is found in several Persian and Arabic collections.

It appears as one of the Prince's stories in the *Sindibād Nāma*, and relates how a child of three, speaking from its cradle, rebuked an adulterous king about to gratify an unlawful passion, on whom its words made such an impression that the king abandoned his intention and became a paragon of virtue. It appears in *Sindban* and *Syntipus*, and also in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. vi, p. 208), as "The Debauchee and the Three-year-old Child."

Another famous story of a clever child is that of "The Stolen Purse." The outline of the story is as follows :—Three (sometimes four) people enter into partnership. They amass money and deposit it with a trusted woman, telling her she is not to give it up unless all partners are present. One day they are all together and one of the men calls in at the old woman's house ostensibly for a comb (or other articles for the bath) and says : "Give me the purse." "No," says the woman; "you are alone." He explains the others are just outside, and calls out : "She is to give it me, isn't she?" They (thinking he refers to the comb) say : "Yes." He gets the purse and escapes out of the town. The others refuse to believe the woman's explanations and take her to the judge. She is about to lose her case when a child of five, hearing the details, tells her to say to the Kazi that she intends to keep strictly to her original agreement and will give up the purse when all the partners are present. This could certainly not be done as one had run away, and so the woman is saved.

This story with minor differences occurs in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, Greek and Italian collections. It is also found in numerous English jest-books. Burton (*Nights*, vol. vi, pp. 210, 211) gives a long note on the subject.

Further references should be made to both Clouston and Comparetti's works on the *Book of Sindibād*, and also to Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, viii, pp. 62-64.—N.M.P.

[M] "Thus even a child may do mischief if it is annoyed, and therefore we must carefully conciliate all this retinue." Saying this, Yaugandharāyaṇa, with the help of Rumanvat, carefully honoured all the people on this the King of Vatsa's great day of rejoicing. And they gratified¹ all the kings so successfully that each one of them thought : "These two men are devoted to me alone." And the king honoured those two ministers and Vasantaka with garments, unguents and ornaments bestowed with his own hand, and he also gave them grants of villages. Then the King of Vatsa, having celebrated the great festival of his marriage, considered all his wishes gratified, now that he was linked to Vāsavadattā. Their mutual love, having blossomed after a long time of expectation, was so great, owing to the strength of their passion, that their hearts continually resembled those of the sorrowing Chakravākas when the night, during which they are separated, comes to an end. And as the familiarity of the couple increased, their love seemed to be ever renewed. Then Gopālaka, being ordered by his father to return to get married himself, went away, after having been entreated by the King of Vatsa to return quickly.

In the course of time the King of Vatsa became faithless, and secretly loved an attendant of the harem named Virachitā, with whom he had previously had an intrigue. One day he made a mistake and addressed the queen by her name ; thereupon he had to conciliate her by clinging to her feet, and bathed in her tears he was anointed² a fortunate king. Moreover, he married a princess of the name of Bandhumatī, whom Gopālaka had captured by the might of his arm and sent as a present to the queen ; and whom she concealed, changing her name to Manjulikā ; who seemed like another Lakshmi issuing from the sea of beauty. Her the king saw when he was in the company of Vasantaka, and secretly married her by the *gāndharva* ceremony in a summer-house. And that proceeding of his was beheld by

¹ Cf. the distribution of presents on the occasion of King Etzel's marriage in the *Nibelungenlied*.

² It must be remembered that a king among the Hindus was inaugurated with water, not oil.

Vāsavadattā, who was in concealment, and she was angry, and had Vasantaka put in fetters. Then the king had recourse to the good offices of a female ascetic, a friend of the queen's, who had come with her from her father's Court, of the name of Sānkrityānanī. She appeased the queen's anger, and got Bandhumati presented to the king by the obedient queen, for tender is the heart of virtuous wives. Then the queen released Vasantaka from imprisonment; he came into the presence of the queen and said to her with a laugh: "Bandhumati did you an injury, but what did I do to you? You are angry with adders¹ and you kill water-snakes." Then the queen, out of curiosity, asked him to explain that metaphor, and he continued as follows:—

10. *Story of Ruru*

Once on a time a hermit's son of the name of Ruru, wandering about at will, saw a maiden of wonderful beauty, the daughter of a heavenly nymph named Menakā by a Vidyādhara, and brought up by a hermit of the name of Sthūlakeśa in his hermitage. That lady, whose name was Prishaḍvarā, so captivated the mind of that Ruru when he saw her, that he went and begged the hermit to give her to him in marriage. Sthūlakeśa for his part betrothed the maiden to him, and when the wedding was nigh at hand suddenly an adder bit her. Then the heart of Ruru was full of despair; but he heard this voice in the heaven: "O Brāhmaṇa, raise to life with the gift of half thy own life² this

¹ The word "adders" must here do duty for all venomous kinds of serpents.

² A similar story is found in the fourth book of the *Puñchatantra*, fable 5, where Benfey compares the story of Yayāti and his son Puru (Benfey, *Puñchatantra*, i, 436).

Bernhard Schmidt in his *Griechische Märchen*, p. 37, mentions a very similar story, which he connects with that of Admetos and Alkestis. In a popular ballad of Trebisond a young man named Jannis, the only son of his parents, is about to be married when Charon comes to fetch him. He supplicates St George, who obtains for him the concession, that his life may be spared, in case his father will give him half the period of life still remaining to him. His father refuses, and in the same way his mother. At last his betrothed gives him half her allotted period of life, and the

maiden, whose allotted term is at an end." When he heard that, Ruru gave her half of his own life, as he had been directed ; by means of that she revived, and Ruru married her. Thenceforward he was incensed with the whole race of serpents, and whenever he saw a serpent he killed it, thinking to himself as he killed each one : "This may have bitten my wife." One day a water-snake said to him with human voice as he was about to slay it : " You are incensed against adders, Brāhmaṇa, but why do you slay water-snakes ? An adder bit your wife, and adders are a distinct species from water-snakes ; all adders are venomous, water-snakes are not venomous." When he heard that, he said in answer to the water-snake : " My friend, who are you ? " The water-snake said : " Brāhmaṇa, I am a hermit fallen from my high estate by a curse, and this curse was appointed to last till I held converse with you." When he said that he disappeared, and after that Ruru did not kill water-snakes.

[M] "So I said this to you metaphorically : 'My queen, you are angry with adders and you kill water-snakes.'" When he had uttered this speech, full of pleasing wit, Vasantaṇa ceased, and Vāsavadattā, sitting at the side of her husband, was pleased with him. Such soft and sweet tales in which Vasantaka displayed various ingenuity, did the loving Udayana, King of Vatsa, continually make use of to conciliate his angry wife, while he sat at her feet. That happy king's tongue was ever exclusively employed in tasting the flavour of wine, and his ear was ever delighting in the sweet sounds of the lute, and his eye was ever riveted on the face of his beloved.

marriage takes place. The story of Ruru is found in the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (see Lévêque, *Mythes et Legendes de l'Inde*, pp. 278 and 374).—See also Benfey, *op. cit.*, ii, 545, and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, viii, p. 119.—N.M.P.

NOTE ON DEISUL OR CIRCUMAMBULATION

The practice of walking round an object of reverence with the right hand towards it (which is one of the ceremonies mentioned in our author's account of Vāsavadattā's marriage) has been exhaustively discussed by Dr Samuel Ferguson in his paper, "On the Ceremonial Turn called Deisul," published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* for March 1877 (vol. i, Ser. II., No. 12). He shows it to have existed among the ancient Romans as well as the Celts. One of the most striking of his quotations is from the *Curculio* of Plautus (I, i, 69). Phaedromus says: "Quo me vortam nescio." Palinurus jestingly replies: "Si deos salutas dextrovorum censeo." Cf also the following passage of Valerius Flaccus (*Ifigon.*, viii, 213):—

"Inde ubi sacrificas cum conjugi venit ad aras
Æsonides, unaque adcent pariterque precari
Incipiunt. Ignem Pollux undamque jugalem
Prætulit ut dextrum pariter vertantur in orbem."

The above passage forms a striking comment upon our text. Cf also Plutarch in his *Life of Camillus*: "Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, καθάπερ ἦστι Φορούσος Θεός, ἐπενδυμένους καὶ προκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἔξελίττειν, ἀνθρώπη περιστρεφόμενος. It is possible that the following passage in Lucretius alludes to the same practice:—

"Nec pietas illa est relatum saepe videri
Tertier ad lapidem atque omnes accedere ad aras."

Dr Ferguson is of opinion that this movement was a symbol of the cosmical rotation, an imitation of the apparent course of the sun in the heavens. Cf. Hyginus, Fable CCV: "Arge venatrix, cum cervum sequeretur, cervo dixisse fertur: Tu licet Solis cursum sequareris, tamen te consequar Sol, iratus, in cervam eam converisti." He quotes, to prove that the practice existed among the ancient Celts, Athenaeus, IV, par. 36, who adduces from Posidonius the following statement:—"Τοὺς θεοὺς πρωκτοῦνσιν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ στρεφόμενοι." The above quotations are but a few scraps from the full feast of Dr Ferguson's paper. See also the remarks of the Rev. S. Beal in the *Indian Antiquary* for March 1880, p. 67.

See also Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, p. 45: "The vicar of Stranton (Harlepool) was standing at the churchyard gate, awaiting the arrival of a funeral party, when to his astonishment the whole group, who had arrived within a few yards of him, suddenly wheeled and made the circuit of the churchyard wall, thus traversing its west, north and east boundaries, and making the distance some five or six times greater than was necessary. The vicar, astonished at this proceeding, asked the sexton the reason of so extraordinary a movement. The reply was as follows:—'Why, ye wad no ha'e them carry the dead again the sun; the dead maun aye go with the sun.' This custom is no doubt an ancient British or Celtic custom, and corresponds to

the Highland usage of making the *deazul*, or walking three times round a person according to the course of the sun. Old Highlanders will still make the *deazul* round those whom they wish well. To go round the person in the opposite direction, or "withershins," is an evil incantation and brings ill fortune. Hunt in his *Romances and Drolls of the West of England*, p. 418, says: "If an invalid goes out for the first time and makes a circuit, the circuit must be with the sun, if against the sun, there will be a relapse." Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 322, quotes from the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v, p. 88, the following statement of a Scottish minister, with reference to a marriage ceremony—"After leaving the church, the whole company walk round it, keeping the church walls always on the right hand."

Thiselton Dyer, in his *English Folk-Lore*, p. 171, mentions a similar custom as existing in the west of England. In Devonshire blackheads or pinsoles are cured by creeping on one's hands and knees under or through a bramble three times with the sun—that is, from east to west. See also Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 299.

See also the extract from Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 225: "When a Highlander goes to bathe or to drink out of a consecrated fountain, he must always approach by going round the place from east to west on the south side, in imitation of the apparent diurnal motion of the sun. This is called in Gaelic going round the right, or the lucky way. The opposite course is the wrong, or the unlucky way. And if a person's meat or drink were to affect the wind-pipe, or come against his breath, they would instantly cry out, 'Desheal,' which is an ejaculation praying it may go by the right way." Cf. the note in Munro's *Lucretius* on v, 1199, and Burton's *Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i, p. 278.

—Here Tawney's note ends. As it deals almost entirely with circumambulation in the West, I will confine my remarks chiefly to the East.

In India the custom of walking round objects as part of sacred or secular ritual is known by the name of *pradakshina*. In our text *Vāsavadattā* walks round the fire keeping it on her right—*i.e.* sunwise or clockwise. This in accordance with the Laws of Manu, where the bride is told to walk three times round the domestic hearth. Sometimes both bride and bridegroom do it, or else they walk round the central pole of the marriage-shed. Similarly in the *Gṛihya Sūtras* Brāhmans on initiation are to drive three times round a tree or sacred pool.

Before building a new house it is necessary to walk three times round the site sprinkling water on the ground, accompanying the action with the repetition of the verse, "O waters, ye are wholesome," from the *Rig-Veda*. (See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxix, p. 213.) *Pradakshina* is also performed round sacrifices and sacred buildings or tombs. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* it is set down that when walking round the sacrifice a burning coal is to be held in the hand. When sacrifices are offered to ancestors, the officiating Brāhman first walks three times round the sacrifice with his left shoulder towards it, after which he turns round and walks three times to the right, or sunwise. This is explained in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* as follows:—"The reason why he again moves thrice round from left to right is

that, while the first time he went away from here after those three ancestors of his, he now comes back again from them to this, his own world ; that is why he again moves thrice from left to right." This anti-sunwise movement is called *prasavyu* in Sanskrit, and corresponds to the Celtic *cartuasul*, or withershins.

The movement from left to right is almost universally considered unlucky and ill-omened, and the English words "sinister" and "dexterous" show how the meaning has come to us unaltered from the Latin.

In his excellent work, *The Migration of Symbols*, 1894, Count D'Alviella has shown in his study of the swastika or *gammadion* that the "right-handed" variety is always the lucky one. Sir George Birdwood mentions that among the Hindus the "right-handed" swastika represents the male principle and is the emblem of Ganesa, while the sauwastika (or "left-handed") represents the female principle and is sacred to Kali, and typifies the course of the sun in the subterranean world from west to east, symbolising darkness, death and destruction.

The magical effect on objects repeatedly circumambulated is exemplified in the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta*. We read that after the pyre on which lay the body of Buddha had been walked round three times by the five hundred disciples it took fire on its own account. Readers will naturally think of Joshua and the walls of Jericho.

The *pradukshya* rite was also performed by the ancient Buddhists, and still is, by the modern Hindus for the purpose of purification. In India, Tibet, China and Japan we find galleries, or walls round *stūpas* or shrines for circumambulation of pilgrims. The same idea is, of course, connected with the Ka'bah at Mecca (which we shall discuss shortly) and the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

It has often been suggested by Indian students that the reason for walking round an object *three* times is connected with the traditional "three steps" of Vishnu, as God of the Sun. Evidence does not, however, seem sufficient to attempt any decisive statement on that point.

Three is considered a lucky number among the Hindus, and with seven forms the two most lucky numbers throughout the world.

Turning to the Moslem world we find that in circumambulating the Ka'bah at Mecca, the pilgrims walk from left to right, which is nearly always considered unlucky. The "Tawaf," as it is called, has been described by Burton (*Pilgrimage*, 1st edition, 1855-1856, vol. iii, pp. 204, 205, 234-236). He gives full details of the seven circuits with all the elaborate *sunnats*, or practices, involved. In a note we read the following:—"Moslem moralists have not failed to draw spiritual food from this mass of materialism. 'To circuit the Bait Ullah,' said the Pir Raukhan (*As. Soc.*, vol. xi, and *Dabistan*, vol. iii, 'Miyan Bayezid'), 'and to be free from wickedness, and crimes, and quarrels, is the duty enjoined by religion. But to circuit the house of the friend of Allah (*i.e.* the heart), to combat bodily propensities, and to worship the angels, is the business of the (mystic) path.' Thus Saadi, in his sermons, —which remind the Englishman of 'poor Yorick,' 'He who travels to the Kaabah on foot makes a circuit of the Kaabah, but he who performs the

pilgrimage of the Kaabah in his heart is encircled by the Kaabah.' And the greatest Moslem divines sanction this visible representation of an invisible and heavenly shrine, by declaring that, without a material medium, it is impossible for man to worship the Eternal Spirit."

Further references to the *deseil*, *deasil* or *deisul* in Greece, Rome and Egypt, among the Celts and Teutons, in England, Scotland and Ireland, and among savage tribes will be found in D'Alviella's article, "Circumambulation," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iii, pp. 657-659, from which several of the above references have been taken.—N.M.P.

APPENDIX I



APPENDIX I

MYTHICAL BEINGS

THE mythical beings mentioned in the *Ocean of Story* are :

Apsaras	Gaṇa	Nāga
Asura	Gandharva	Piśācha
Bhūta	Guhyaka	Rākshasa
Daitya	Kinnara	Siddha
Dānava	Kumbhāṇḍa	Vetāla
Dasyus	Kushmāṇḍa	Vidyādhara
		Yaksha

Of the above the great majority are mentioned in Book I, but Apsaras, Daitya and Dānava occur for the first time in Book II, Vetāla in Book V, Kumbhāṇḍa in Book VIII, Dasyus in Book IX, Bhūta in Book XII, and Kushmāṇḍa in Book XVII.

It is possible to classify them under four headings as follows :—

1. Enemies of the gods, very rarely visiting the earth : Asura, Daitya, Dānava.

2. Servants of the gods, frequently connected with mortals : Gandharva, Apsaras, Gaṇa, Kinnara, Guhyaka and Yaksha.

3. Independent superhumans, often mixing with mortals : Nāga, Siddha and Vidyādhara.

4. Demons, hostile to mankind : Rākshasa, Piśācha, Vetāla, Bhūta, Dasyus, Kumbhāṇḍa, Kushmāṇḍa.

1. *Enemies of the Gods*

The origin of the terms Asura, Daitya and Dānava is of the greatest importance in attempting to ascertain the exact position they hold in Indian mythology. It is not sufficient merely to say they are usually applied to the enemies of the gods.

Although many derivations of the word *asura* have been suggested, it seems very probable that the simplest is the

most correct—namely, that it comes from *asu*, spirit, life-breath. (See Brugmann, *Vergl. Gramm.*, ii, p. 189.) It means, therefore, “spiritual being,” and, as such, is applied to nearly all the greater Vedic gods.

Among the suggested derivations, however, mention may be made of that which is looked for in Mesopotamia. Attempts have been made to trace it thence to India. As the theory is attractive I will attempt to give the main lines of argument.

In the early Vedas, including the older hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, the word *asura* is an alternative designation for “deity,” or “friendly gods,” besides being used as an epithet of the most important gods, such as Varuna, Rudra, etc. In the later Vedas, and especially in the *Purānas*, *asura* is used to denote a formidable enemy of the gods (Devas). It is this strange contradiction of meanings that has led scholars to suspect some foreign origin of the word, and to attempt to trace its etymology.

Assur, Asur, Ashir, or Ashur was the national god of Assyria from whom both the country and its primitive capital took their names. The exact meaning of the word is not known; it has been interpreted as “arbiter,” “overseer,” or “lord,” but its original meaning is wrapped in mystery. The Persians borrowed the word, which became *ahura*, meaning “lord” or “god.” The Vedic Hindus did likewise, but gradually altered the meaning to the exact opposite. Various suggestions are put forward to account for this.

The discovery of a treaty in Asia Minor between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitani (see *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1909, p. 721 *et seq.*) shows that the Vedic Aryans were neighbours of the Assyrians, so it may be that the progress of these Aryans into India was contested by their neighbours, the Asuras, just in the same way as later it was contested by the Dasyus in India itself.

Thus in time, when the religious system began to be fully developed, reminiscences of the human Asuras and their fights with the Aryans would be transformed into a myth of the enmity between the Devas (gods) and Asuras. (For details of this theory see Bhandarkar’s “The Aryans in the Land of the Assurs,” *Journ. Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xxv, 1918, p. 76 *et seq.*)

We may, however, find further possibilities from Assyria’s other neighbours, the Iranians. As I have already

mentioned, they used the word *ahura* to mean “lord” or “god,” but it is significant to note that *daēva* denoted evil spirits. The various nations of the Mesopotamian area had many gods in common, but their different interpretations of the speculative philosophy of life soon led them into different paths of religious thought and application. Zoroaster’s doctrine helped to widen this breach when he made the evil spirits appear in the *Avesta* as *daēvas*. In India the conception of *asura* gradually became a god of reverence and fear with an awful divine character, while *deva* became more friendly in its meaning and kinder to humans. Zoroaster, however, looking upon the *daēvas* as upstarts who were gradually ousting the original position of the Asuras, elevated the latter and added the epithet *Mazdāo*, the “wise,” to their name. Thus arose the Persian *Ahurō Mazdāo*, which in time became *Ormazd*, the “Wise Lord,” the “All-father.” The *daēvas*, in inverse ratio, became enemies of the gods. In India, as we have seen, the exact opposite had taken place, and thus the curious difference of meaning is brought about.

It is often said that the word *asura* means “not-god,” the negative “a” being prefixed to *sura*, which means “god.” This, however, is incorrect, the exact opposite being the case. When the Asuras had become the enemies of the gods, the word *sura* was formed as meaning the opposite of *asura*.

Turning now to the terms *Daitya* and *Dānava*, we find that *Daitya* means “descendant of Diti.” Diti is a female deity mentioned in the *Rig-Veda* and *Atharva-Veda*, whose particular nature was apparently little known. She is usually regarded as the sister of *Āditya*, to whom she probably owes her existence (*cf.* the way in which *sura* was formed from *asura*). The name *Āditya* is used as a metronymic from *Aditi* to denote some of the most important deities; thus their enemies were named *Daityas* after Diti.

According to the *Mahābhārata* (i, 65) the Asura race was derived from five daughters of Daksha, son of Brāhma. Of these daughters two were *Aditi* and *Diti*. A third was *Dānu*, from whom the name *Dānava* is derived. Thus the close relationship of the three terms will be realised, although it is only the word *asura* that may have an ancient extraneous history.

In the *Ocean of Story* the Asuras, *Daityas* and *Dānavas* are, with few exceptions, represented as the enemies of the gods. In Book VIII, however, where the terms *asura* and

dānava are used synonymously, we find one called Maya who comes to earth in order to teach the hero the magic sciences. To do this he takes the prince back to Pātāla, which is the usual dwelling-place not only of the Asuras, but also of the Nāgas, or snake-gods. Pātāla is described as a place of great beauty, with magnificent castles and abundance of every kind of wealth. Some of the Asuras prefer to dwell outside Pātāla, either in the air, in heaven, or even on earth itself.

The widely different legendary accounts of the history of the Asuras are to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. (See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, i, 97; ii, 69.)

The power that Asuras can obtain is shown by the story of Jalandhara, an Asura who actually conquered Vishṇu, and whom neither Siva nor Indra could destroy.

In the Churning of the Ocean the gods found they could not get on without the help of the Asuras. Occasionally they have actually been held in respect and worshipped. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is the history of Gaya, an Asura who was so devout in the worship of Vishṇu that his accumulated merit alarmed the gods. (This legend is given in a note in Chapter XCIII of this work, when Gaya is actually referred to.)

Rāhu should also be mentioned, who is the Asura causing the eclipses of the sun and moon.

Further details will be found in H. Jacobi's article, under "Daitya," in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iv, p. 390 *et seq.*

It is interesting to note that the term *āsura* is applied to marriage by capture. It forms with the *paiśācha* variety the two kinds of marriage condemned by Manu as altogether improper. In modern days, however, the *āsura* form is recognised even for the Vaiśya and Sūdra castes.

2. Servants (or Attendants) of the Gods

Foremost among these are the Gandharvas and Apsaras.

In the early Vedas the Gandharvas occupy a minor position, which in later days became more prominent. They are trusted servants of the gods, having guard of the celestial *soma*, and so become heavenly physicians, as *soma* is a panacea. They also direct the sun's horses and act as servants to Agni, God of Fire and Light, and to Varuna, the divine judge. They

dwell in the fathomless spaces of the air, and stand erect on the vault of heaven. They are also (especially in the *Avesta*) connected with the waters, and in the later Vedas have the Apsarases, who were originally water-nymphs, as wives or mistresses. It is at this period, too, that they become especially fond of and dangerous to women, but at the same time they are the tutelary deities of women and marriage. They are always represented as being gorgeously clad and carrying shining weapons.

In post-Vedic times they are the celestial singers and musicians at Indra's Court, where they live in company with the Apsarases. They wander about the great spaces of air at random. Thus the term *gandharvanagara* means "mirage"—literally, the "city of the Gandharvas."

They often visit humans, being attracted by beautiful women.

In number they vary greatly in different accounts. They are twelve, twenty-seven, or innumerable.

The *Vishnu Purāna* says they are the offspring of Brahmā, and recounts how 60,000,000 of them warred against the Nāgas, or snake-gods, but they were destroyed with Vishnu's help.

Finally, they lend their name to a form of marriage. When two people desire mutual intercourse the resulting marriage is called *gāndharva*, because these spirits of the air are the only witnesses. Full details of the *gāndharva* marriage have already been given in this volume (pp. 87, 88).

We now pass on to the Apsarases, who, as we have already seen, were originally water-nymphs. (Their very name means "moving in the waters.") They are seldom mentioned in the Vedas, Urvaśī, who became the wife of King Purūravas, being one of the most famous. (*Rig-Veda*, x, 95, and *Ocean of Story*, Chapter XVIII.)

In the later Vedas they frequent trees, which continually resound with the music of their lutes and cymbals.

In the Epics they become the wives of the Gandharvas, whom they join as singers, dancers and musicians in Indra's Court. They serve the gods in other capacities; for instance, if a pious devotee has acquired so much power by his austerities that the gods themselves are in danger of being subservient to him, a beautiful Apsaras is at once dispatched to distract him from his devotions (e.g. Menakā seduced Viśvāmitra and became the mother of Sakuntalā).

The beauty and voluptuous nature of the Apsarases is always emphasised, and they are held out as the reward for fallen heroes in Indra's paradise. In this they resemble the Mohammedan *houris*.

According to the *Rāmāyana* and the *Vishnu Purāna* they were produced at the Churning of the Ocean. When they first appeared in this way, neither the gods nor the Asuras would have them as their wives; consequently they became promiscuous in their affections. They have the power of changing their forms, and are most helpful and affectionate to mortals whom they favour.

They preside over the fortunes of the gaming-table, and it is here that their friendship is most desirable.

The estimate of their number varies, but it is usually put at 35,000,000, of which 1060 are the chief.

In the *Ocean of Story* they often fall in love with mortals, but are usually under some curse for past misbehaviour. In Chapter XXVIII King Sushena recognises his future Apsaras wife as divine, "since her feet do not touch the dust, and her eye does not wink." As soon as she bears him a child she is forced to return to her abode in the heavens.

Gana is the name given to an attendant of Siva and Pārvatī. The chief is Ganeśa ("Lord of Ganás"), who is a son of Siva and Pārvatī. He it was who ranked as chief of the followers of Siva, hence all the others are termed Gaṇas. The position seems, however, to have been an honorary one as far as Ganeśa was concerned, for we find in actual practice that Nandi, Siva's bull, was leader of the Gaṇas. As we have seen in the Introduction to the *Ocean of Story*, both Siva and Pārvatī kept strict control over their Ganás, and any breach of discipline was punished by banishment from Kailāsa—usually to the world of mortals, where they had to serve their time till some event or other brought the curse to an end.

Kinnaras, Guhyakas and Yakshas are all subjects to Kuvera, or Vaiśravaṇa, the God of Wealth and Lord of Treasures.

Kinnaras sing and play before Kuvera, and have human bodies and horses' heads. The Kimpurushas, who have horses' bodies and human heads (like the centaurs), are also servants of Kuvera, but are not mentioned in the *Ocean of Story*.

The Guhyakas help to guard Kuvera's treasure and dwell in caves. They are often (as in Chapter VI of the *Ocean of Story*) synonymous with Yakshas. The beings who assisted Kuvera in guarding treasures were originally called Rakshas, but the name savoured too much of the demons, the Rākshasas, who were subject to Rāvana, the half-brother of Kuvera—so the name Yakshas was adopted. The word *yaksha* means “being possessed of magical powers,” which, as we shall see later, is practically the same meaning as *vidyādhara*.

It appears that both Yakshas and Rākshasas come under the heading of Rakshas, the former being friendly to man and servants of Kuvera, the latter being demons and hostile to man.

3. *Independent Superhumans*

The Nāgas are snake-gods dwelling in Pātāla, the underworld, in a city called Bhogavatī. Although snake-worship dates from the earliest times in India, there is but little mention of Nāgas in the Vedas. In the Epics, however, they attain full recognition and figure largely in the *Mahābhārata*. Here their origin is traced to Kadrū and Kaśyapa, and their destruction through the sacrifice of Janamejaya is related.

In some stories they retain their reptilian character throughout; in others they possess human heads, or are human as far as the waist. They are usually friendly to man unless ill-treated, when they have their revenge if not duly propitiated.

Garuda, the sun-god, is their enemy (see the *Ocean of Story*, Chapter LXI), from whom they fly. As the snake is sometimes looked upon as representative of darkness, the idea has arisen that they are eaten by Garuda, or the dawn, each morning (see pp. 103-105 of this volume).

The extent of serpent-worship in India can be imagined when we read in Crooke's *Folk-Lore of Northern India* (vol. ii, p. 122) that in the North-West Provinces there are over 25,000 Nāga-worshippers, and in the census-returns 123 people recorded themselves as votaries of Gūga, the snake-god.

It would be out of place here to give details of the ceremonies, superstitions and archæological remains of snake-worship throughout India. I would merely refer readers to Cook's article, “Serpent-Worship,” in the *Ency. Brit.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 676-682, and that by Macculloch, Crooke and

Welsford in Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. xi, pp. 399-423. Both contain full bibliographical references.

Readers will remember the amazing story in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. v, p. 298 to the end of the volume) of "The Queen of the Serpents," whose head alone is human, and the sub-story, "The Adventures of Bulukiya," where Solomon and his ring are guarded by fiery serpents. The relationship of the Nāgas to the Piśāchas is discussed below, in section 4. Their origin, like that of the Piśāchas, was probably a primitive hill tribe of North India.

Siddhas play a very unimportant part in Hindu mythology. They are described as kindly ghosts who always behave in a most friendly manner to mankind. They are usually mentioned in company with Gaṇas and Vidyādharaś, as at the commencement of the *Ocean of Story*. In the earlier mythology they were called Sādhyas (Manu, i, 22), where their great purity is emphasised.

Vidyādharaś play a very important part in the *Ocean of Story* and require little explanation here, as their habits, abode and relations with mortals are fully detailed in the work itself.

Their government is similar to that in the great cities on earth; they have their kings, viziers, wives and families. They possess very great knowledge, especially in magical sciences, and can assume any form they wish. Their name means "possessing spells or witchcraft."

4. Demons

The Rākshasas are the most prominent among malicious superhumans. From the *Rig-Veda* days they have delighted in disturbing sacrifices, worrying devout men when engaged in prayer, animating dead bodies and generally living up to the meaning of their name, "the harmers" or "destroyers."

In appearance they are terrifying and monstrous. In the *Atharva-Veda* they are deformed, and blue, green or yellow in colour. Their eyes, like those of the Arabian *jinn*, are long slits up and down, their finger-nails are poisonous, and their touch most dangerous. They eat human flesh and also that of horses. Pārvatī gave them power to arrive at maturity at birth.

It is at night that their power is at its height, and it is

then that they prowl about the burning-grounds in search of corpses or humans. They are, moreover, possessors of remarkable riches, which they bestow on those they favour.

Chief among Rākshasas is Rāvaṇa, the great enemy of Rāma. Reference should be made to Crooke's *Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 246 *et seq.*

They have also given the name to one of the eight forms of marriage which Manu says is lawful only for men of the Kshatriya caste.

The Piśāchas are rather similar to the Rākshasas, their chief activities being in leading people out of their way, haunting cemeteries, eating human flesh and indulging in every kind of wickedness. In Chapter XXVIII of the *Ocean of Story* they appear to possess healing power, and, after being duly propitiated, cure disease.

In the Vedas they are described as *kravyād*, “eaters of raw flesh,” which is perhaps the etymological sense of the word Piśācha itself. In the *Rāmayāna* they appear occasionally as ghouls, but in the *Mahābhārata* besides being ghouls they are continually represented as human beings living in the north-west of India, the Himālayas and Central Asia. This is one of the points which has led Sir George Grierson to believe in the human origin of the Piśāchas. (See the numerous references given in my note on *Paiśāchi*, the Piśācha's language, on pp. 92, 93.)

Macdonell and Keith (*Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 538) consider that when they appeared as human tribes, they were presumably thus designated in scorn. A science called Piśācha-veda or Piśācha-vidyā is known in the later Vedic period. (See *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 1, 10, and *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, x, 7, 6.)

There is a form of marriage named *paiśācha*, after the Piśāchas, which consists of embracing a woman who is drugged, insane or asleep. This is mentioned by Manu as the last and most condemned form of marriage. It was, however, permissible to all castes except Brāhmans. (See Manu, *Sacred Books of the East*, Bühler, vol. xxv, pp. 79-81 and 83.)

Finally there are the Purāṇa legends to be considered. They state that the valley of Kashmir was once a lake. Siva drained off the water and it was peopled by the Prajāpati Kaśyapa. He had numerous wives, but three in particular, from whom were born the Nāgas, the Piśāchas, the Yakshas

and the Rākshasas. Thus the relationship of these various demons is understood.

Both Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature continually refers to them synonymously, and in modern Kashmiri the word *yachh*, for *yaksha*, has taken the place of the old *piśācha*.

There is also a rather similar legend in the *Nīlamata*, a legendary account of Kashmir dating (so Grierson says) from perhaps the sixth or seventh century. According to it Kaśyapa first peopled the dried valley of Kashmir only with the Nāgas. He then wished to introduce men, but the Nāgas objected. Kaśyapa cursed them, and for every six months of the year his other sons, the Piśāchas, who came from an island in the sand ocean (an oasis in Central Asia, probably Khōtan), dwelt there.

Many similar stories are found in the Dard country, north and west of Kashmir.

Vetālas are also closely related to the above demons. They are almost entirely confined to cemeteries and burning-grounds, where they specialise in animating dead bodies.

The twenty-five tales of a Vetāla are included in the *Ocean of Story*, where their nature is fully described.

Bhūta is really a generic name given to ghosts of many kinds. They are often synonymous with both Rākshasas and Piśāchas. (See E. Arbman, *Rudra*, p. 165 *et seq.*)

The Bhūta proper is the spirit of a man who has met a violent death, in consequence of which it assumes great malignity against the living.

The three tests of recognising a Bhūta are : (1) it has no shadow ; (2) it cannot stand burning turmeric ; (3) it always speaks with a nasal twang. It plays a very minor part in the *Ocean of Story*, being mentioned only once.

Crooke (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 234 *et seq.*) has given very full details of the modern Bhūta, its veneration and the numerous superstitious rites connected with it.

Dasyus (or Dāsas) was originally the name given to the aboriginal tribes of India who resisted the gradual advance of the Aryans from the west. Owing to the legends which naturally sprang up about the bloody battles with these early foes, they have been introduced into fiction as demons

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of terrible and hideous appearance and are classed with Rākshasas and Piśāchas.

They are described as having a black skin, being snub-nosed, god-hating, devoid of rites, addicted to strange vows, and so forth.

They are mentioned only once in the *Ocean of Story*, and then in company with Rākshasas.

Kumbhāndas and Kushmāndas are also mentioned only once, and are merely a variety of demon, and of little importance.

The two words are probably synonymous, one being Sanskrit and the other Prakrit.

APPENDIX II

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APPENDIX II

NOTE ON THE USE OF COLLYRIUM AND KOHL

THE word collyrium has an interesting etymological history. It is a Latin word (*κολλύριον*, in Greek) meaning “a mass (or article) similar to the collyra-dough.” Collyra is a kind of pastry, round in shape, closely resembling vermicelli. Thus collyrium came to mean (1) a pessary, suppository, etc., when used in a medical sense, (2) a liquid eye-wash, applied in a long thin line above the eye, and (3) *kohl*, for beautifying the eyes.

The word collyrium is often used (as in our text) to mean *kohl*, whereas its strict use in connection with the eye should be only in a medical sense. *Kohl* is from the Arabic كھل, *kuhl*, *kohl*, which means a “stain,” from *kahala*, “to stain.” In English the word is applied in chemistry to any fine impalpable powder produced by trituration, or especially by sublimation, and by further extension to fluids of the idea of sublimation—an essence, quintessence, or spirit obtained by distillation or “rectification,” as alcohol of wine. Thus our own word “alcohol” really means “a thing (produced) by staining.” *Kohl* consists of powdered antimony ore, stibnite, antimony trisulphide ($\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\omega\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\sigma\tau\mu\mu$), galena or lead ore.

The custom of applying *kohl* to the eyes dates from the dawn of history and is still practised in some form or other in almost every race of the world. After shortly considering its use in India, it will be interesting to give some account of the custom in other countries—chiefly in ancient Egypt and the Moslem East.

From a study of the Ajantā cave paintings and the work of the Indian court artists of the various schools, it is at once noticeable how exaggerated are the eyes of the women. They are very large and stretch in almond shape almost to the ears. This is considered a great attraction, and the painting of the eye is as important as the application of henna to the hands and feet. The *kohl* (*surmā*) is used both as a means of producing large and lustrous eyes and as a collyrium (*anjana*).

In ancient India the recipes for making various *anjanas* are strange and numerous. In the *Susruta Samhitā* of the first

century either B.C. or A.D. (Bhishagratna's trans., Calcutta) there are many, of which the following is an example:—

“ Eight parts of *Rasāñjana* (antimony) having the hue of a (full-blown) blue lotus flower, as well as one part each of (dead) copper, gold and silver, should be taken together and placed inside an earthen crucible. It should then be burnt by being covered with the burning charcoal of *catechu* or *asmantaka* wood, or in the fire of dried cakes of cow-dung and blown (with a blow-pipe till they would glow with a blood-red effulgence), after which the expressed juice (*rasa*) of cow-dung, cow's urine, milk-curd, clarified butter, honey, oil, lard, marrow, infusion of the drugs of the *sarva-gandhā* group, grape juice, sugar-cane juice, the expressed juice of *triphalā* and the completely cooled decoctions of the drugs of the *sārivādi* and the *utpalādi* groups, should be separately sprinkled over it in succession alternately each time with the heating thereof. After that the preparation should be kept suspended in the air for a week, so as to be fully washed by the rains. The compound should then be dried, pounded and mixed together with proportionate parts (quarter part) of powdered pearls, crystals, corals and *kālanu sārivā*. The compound thus prepared is a very good *anjana* and should be kept in a pure vessel made of ivory, crystal, *vaidūrya*, *śankha* (conch-shell), stone, gold, silver or of *asand* wood. It should then be purified (*lit.*, worshipped) in the manner of the purification of the Sahasra-Pāka-Taila described before. It may then be prescribed even for a king. Applied along the eyelids as a collyrium, it enables a king to become favourite with his subjects and to continue invincible to the last day of his life free from ocular affections.”

In more recent days we find *surmā* used by both sexes of the Musulmāns of India. It is put on the inside of the eyelids with a stick called *mikhal*. *Surmā* is variously powdered antimony, iron ore, galena, and Iceland spar from Kābul. The jars or toilet-boxes (*surmā-dān*) resemble those to be described later in modern Egypt.

The eyelashes and outer lids are stained, or rather smudged, with *kājal* or lamp-black, which is collected on a plate held over a lamp. The box where it is stored is called *Kājalanti*.

As black is one of the colours spirits fear, *surmā* and *kājal* are used as a guard against the evil eye at marriages, deaths, etc.

Herklots in his *Qānūn-i-Islām* (by Ja'far Sharif, with notes by Crooke, new edition, 1920) refers to a legend current in the Panjab. It is said that a fakir from Kashmir "came to Mount Karangli in the Jhilam district and turned it into gold. The people fearing that in time of war it would be plundered, by means of a spell turned the gold into antimony, which is now washed down by the rain from the mountain. It is said that if it is used for eight days it will restore the sight of those who have become blind by disease or by accident, but not of those born blind."

One of the chief attractions of *surmā*, especially in hot countries, is the coolness it imparts to the eyes. It is this attribute, coupled with its beautifying effects, which makes it so popular in India among both Mohammedans and Hindus.

When obtained in the crude ore it is laboriously pounded in a stone mortar, the process sometimes taking over a week. If the family can afford it, a few drops of *attar* of roses is occasionally added, thus giving a pleasant perfume to the preparation.

The amount of antimony-sulphide produced in India is very small, the chief localities being the Jhelum and Kangra districts of the Panjab; the Bellary, Cuddapah and Vizagapatam districts of Madras; and the Chitaldroog and Kadur districts of Mysore.

The galena found in some of the above districts, particularly Jhelum, is sometimes sold in the Indian bazaars as *surmā*.

As we proceed westwards from India, we find everywhere that the practice of painting the eyes is a firmly established custom.

In Persia the preparation used for the eyes was known as *tutia*. Marco Polo, in describing the town of Cobinam, which has been identified as Kūh-Banān in Kermān, says that *tutia* is prepared there by putting a certain earth into a furnace over which is placed an iron grating. The smoke and moisture expelled from the earth adheres to the grating. This is carefully collected and is "a thing very good for the eyes." In commenting upon this passage Yule says (*Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 126) that Polo's description closely resembles Galen's account of *Pompholyx* and *Spodos* (see his *De Simpl. Medic.*, p. ix, in Latin edition, Venice, 1576).

Writing about four hundred years later (1670) the Portuguese traveller Teixeira (*Relaciones . . . de Persia, y de Hormuz . . .*) also refers to the *tutia* of Kermān, and says the ore was kneaded with water and baked in crucibles in a potter's kiln. The *tutia* was subsequently packed in boxes and sent for sale to Hormuz. The importation into India of moulded cakes of *tutia* from the Persian Gulf was mentioned by Milburn in 1813 (*Oriental Commerce*, vol. i, p. 139).

It is interesting to note that in *The History of the Sung Dynasty* an Arab junk-master brought to Canton in A.D. 990, and sent thence to the Chinese Emperor in Ho Nan, "one vitreous bottle of *tutia*." (E. H. Parker, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January 1904, p. 135.)

Writing in 1881 Gen. A. Houtum-Schindler (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiii, p. 497) says that the term *tutia* is not now used in Kermān to denote a collyrium, being applied to numerous other minerals. "The lamp-black used as collyrium is always called *Surmah*. This at Kermān itself is the soot produced by the flame of wicks, steeped in castor oil or goat's fat, upon earthenware saucers. In the high mountainous districts of the province, Kūbenān, Pāriz, and others, *Surmah* is the soot of the Gavan plant (Garcia's goan). This plant, a species of Astragalus, is on those mountains very fat and succulent; from it also exudes the Tragacanth gum. The soot is used dry as an eye-powder, or, mixed with tallow, as an eye-salve. It is occasionally collected on iron gratings."

In Persia to-day *surmah* forms a very important part of a lady's toilet. She uses it from early childhood, and the more she puts on the more she honours her husband and her guests. It is considered to serve the twofold purpose of beautifying the eyes and preventing ophthalmia. It is also applied in a long thick line right across both eyebrows.

In all Mohammedan countries the meeting eyebrows are looked upon as beautiful, while in India the opposite is the case. Morier in his immortal *Hajji Baba of Ispahan* tells us that when Hajji had become a promoter of matrimony, among the charms enumerated by Zeenab her most alluring were her "two eyebrows that looked like one."

In his edition of 1897, Dr Wills gives an illustration on page 428 of the *surmah* and tattoo marks on the chin and forehead.

Sir Percy Sykes recently reminded me of a Persian saying which shows the esteem in which *surmah* is held:

"The dust of a flock of sheep is *surmah* to the eyes of a hungry wolf."

Before considering the custom in ancient and modern Egypt it will be interesting to say a word on its great antiquity.

Mr Campbell Thompson, one of our leading Assyriologists, tells me that it seems certainly to have been in use by the Sumerian women (5000 B.C.) and in after years by the Babylonians and Assyrians. In one of the historical texts *kohl* (*kūhla*) is mentioned as among the tribute paid by Hezekiah to the conquering Sennacherib (700 B.C.).

Even at this early date it was used as a collyrium as well as a "make-up" for the eyes.

In ancient Egypt the custom of applying *kohl* to the lashes, eyelids, the part immediately below the lower lashes, and the eyebrows dates from the earliest dynasties. It seems to have been of numerous varieties and colours. Sesquisulphuret of antimony, sulphide of lead, oxide of copper and black oxide of manganese are among the chief substances used in powdered form. Miniature marble mortars were used for pounding the mineral into powder. The Egyptian name for any such powder was *mestem*, while the act of applying the powder was called *semjet*, and the part painted was *semti*. The *mestem* was kept in tubes made of alabaster, steatite, glass, ivory, bone, wood, etc. These were single, or in clusters of two, three, four or five. In many cases the single tube was formed by a hole being bored into a solid jar of alabaster, granite, faience, steatite or porphyry. Such jars had lids, edges and sometimes stands for them to rest on. The stick for applying the *mestem* was usually of the same materials as the jars. One end was slightly bulbous. It was this end which, after being moistened and dipped in the *mestem*, was used in the application on the eyelids and eyebrows. The tubes and jars, from three to six inches in height, were often of the most beautiful workmanship, as an inspection of the numerous specimens at the British Museum will show. Several have been reproduced in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols., 1878 (vol. ii, p. 348). Some have a separate receptacle for the *mestem* stick, otherwise it remained in the bottle, after the manner of the small "drop" perfume bottles of to-day. Of particular interest are the inscriptions found on some of the boxes. Pierret (*Dic. d'Archæol. Egypt*, p. 139) gives examples: "To lay on the lids or

lashes"; "Good for the sight"; "To stop bleeding"; "Best stibium"; "To cause tears," etc. One of the most interesting specimens of an inscribed *kohl*- or stibium-holder is one which belonged to Lord Grenfell and is now in Case 316 of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in Wigmore Street, London. It is made of a brown wood and consists of a cluster of five tubes, one in the centre and the others surrounding it. The central cylinder holds the *kohl*-stick. On one side is a full face of Bes, who says he "does battle every day on behalf of the followers of his lord, the Scribe Atef, renewing life." On the other side is the figure of an ape, Nephrit, who "anooints the eyes of the deceased with *mestem*." Each of the four remaining tubes held a *mestem* of a different tint, with instruction as to when they were to be used : (1) "To be put on daily"; (2) "For hot, dry weather"; (3) "For use in winter"; (4) "For the spring." This interesting specimen was found in the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari.

Thus the great importance of the use of *kohl* in ancient Egypt is undoubted, for the inscriptions show that besides its use for purposes of adornment it was recognised to have medicinal properties and to act as a charm ; the application was, moreover, regulated by seasonal changes. I have in my collection examples of Egyptian heavily *kohled* eyes with suspension eyelets. The mystic "Eye of Osiris" was worn as a protection against magic, and was of as great necessity to the dead as to the living, as can be seen by the large numbers found in mummy-wrappings, etc. Full details on this branch of the subject will be found in Elworthy's *Evil Eye*, 1895.

We now turn to the Old Testament, where we find several references to the practice of *kohling* the eyes. The most famous is the reference to Jezebel, in 2 Kings ix, 30, where the correct translation of the Hebrew is, "she painted her eyes," or "set her eyes in *kohl*," and looked out of the window. In Jeremiah iv, 30 we read : "though thou rentest thy eyes [not face] with painting, in vain shalt thou make thyself fair"; and in Ezekiel xxiii, 40 : "and lo, they came : for whom thou didst wash thyself, paintedst thy eyes, and deckedst thyself with ornaments."

The custom was, and still is, universal throughout Islam, and the *kohled* eye has always been prominent in the poetry and tales of Egypt, Arabia and Persia. The *kohl* (*mirwad*) is of many kinds, but is commonly composed of the smoke-black

produced by burning a cheap variety of frankincense. Almond-shells are also used in the same manner. These two kinds have no medicinal value, but *kohl* produced from the grey powder of antimony and lead ores is, as Burton discovered, a preventive of ophthalmia. The origin of the use of powdered antimony for the eyes among Mohammedans is, that, when Allah showed himself to Moses on Sinai through the opening the size of a needle, the prophet fainted and the mount took fire : thereupon Allah said : “Henceforth shalt thou and thy seed grind the earth of this mountain and apply it to your eyes.” (See Burton’s *Nights*, vol. i, p. 59.) The powdered ores are often mixed with sarcocolla, long pepper, sugar-candy, the fine dust of a Venetian sequin, and sometimes with powdered pearls, as in India.

The *mirwad* is usually kept in a glass vessel called *muk-hulah*, and similar varieties are found as in ancient Egypt. (For illustrations see Lane’s *Modern Egyptians*, 5th edition, 1860, p. 37.) The *mirwad* is applied with a probe wetted in the mouth or with rose-water. Both eyelids are blackened, but no long line is drawn out at the corners towards the ears as was the custom in ancient Egypt.

It is common to see children in Egypt with blackened eyes. This is merely a charm against the evil eye, as black is one of the colours feared by evil spirits. *Kohl* has entered into many proverbs, and a popular exaggeration for an expert thief is to say, “he would take the very *kohl* off your eyelids.”

Mohammedans of both sexes use antimony for the eyes, and Mohammed himself did not disdain its use, as well as dye for the beard and oil for the hair. (See my *Selected Papers of Sir Richard Burton*, 1923, p. 37.)

In his *Arabia Deserta* (vol. i, p. 237) Doughty speaks of the fondness of every Arabian man and woman, townsfolk and bedouins, to paint the *whites* of their eyes with *kohl*.

In Morocco the custom enters largely into marriage-ceremonies, where in addition the lips are painted with walnut juice. (For numerous references see the index of Westermarck’s *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, 1914.)

In Central and Eastern Africa the Moslem natives apply *kohl* to both outer lids by fixing it on with some greasy substance. (Burton, *op. cit.*, i, 63.) I have in my collection little leather bags for holding *kohl* from Zanzibar and *kohl*-sticks of glass. Livingstone, in his *Journal*, says that the natives of Central Africa used powdered malachite as an eye paint.

In Europe *kohl* was used by women in classical Greece and Rome. In his second Satire (85) Juvenal, in speaking of effeminate men who have copied the tricks of the women's toilet, says :

" One with needle held oblique adds length to his eyebrows
touched with moistened *kohl*,
And raising his lids paints his quivering eyes."

In modern days *kohl* is in great demand among both the social and theatrical world throughout Europe. Although some Parisian " houses " still sell small flasks of powdered antimony, the usual forms are as an eyebrow-pencil, a black powder and a solidified block which is rubbed with a moistened brush and applied to the lashes, as described so clearly by Juvenal.

The composition of these cosmetics varies. Some are made by simply dissolving Chinese or Indian ink in a mixture of glycerine and water. In other cases the " black " is lamp-black or fine carbon black.

The following is a recipe from Poucher's *Perfumes and Cosmetics*, 1923 :—

Ivory black, or vegetable black	.	.	100 grm.
Tragacanth in powder	.	.	15 grm.
Alcohol, 58 o.p.	.	.	135 cub. cm.
Orange-flower water	.	.	750 cub. cm.

It is interesting to note the use of tragacanth gum, which, as we have already seen, appears in the Persian *surmah*. Directions for making the *kohl* from the above ingredients are as follows :—

Place the alcohol in a bottle, add the tragacanth and shake until evenly distributed, pour in the orange-flower water and shake until a creamy mucilage is obtained. Rub down the pigment and gradually add this mucilage to it. Pass through muslin and transfer to bottles, which should be corked immediately.

The *kohl* sold in paste form often consists of ivory black, soft yellow paraffin and a few drops of ionone (synthetic violet) or *attar* to give it a perfume.

APPENDIX III

APPENDIX III

ON THE *DOHADA*, OR CRAVING OF THE PREGNANT WOMAN, AS A *MOTIF* IN HINDU FICTION

THE scientific study and cataloguing of the numerous incidents which continually recur throughout the literature of a country has scarcely been commenced, much less the comparison of such *motifs* with similar ones in the folk-lore of other nations.

Professor Bloomfield of Chicago has, however, issued a number of papers treating of various traits or *motifs* which occur in Hindu fiction, but unfortunately neither he nor his friends who have helped by papers for his proposed *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Fiction* have carried their inquiries outside the realms of Sanskrit. The papers are none the less of the utmost interest and value. One of them (*Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. ix, Part I, 1920, pp. 1-24) treats of "The *Dohada* or Craving of Pregnant Women." With certain modifications I have used this as the chief source of the following note.

There are, however, certain points in which I beg to differ from Professor Bloomfield. For instance, the incident in the *Ocean of Story* seems clearly an example of *dohada* prompting a husband to shrewdness, and does not come under the heading of *dohadas* which injure the husband.

The craving or whim of a pregnant woman is an incident which to the Western mind appears merely as an intimate event in a woman's life, any discussion of which should be confined to the pages of a medical treatise. Not so among the Hindus. It forms a distinct *motif* in folk-lore and is, moreover, one from which most unexpected situations arise.

The Hindu name given to such a longing is *dohada*. The word means "two - heartedness," and is self - explanatory when we remember that the pregnant woman has two hearts and two wills in her body. Any wish which the woman may have is merely the will of the embryo asserting itself and causing the mother to ask for what it knows is necessary for its auspicious birth.

The *dohada* in Hindu literature forms a *motif* which is

not only absolutely free from any suspicion of obscenity or grossness, but in some of its aspects is beautiful and highly poetical.

Let us take the poetical *dohada* first. It is not only human beings who have a *dohada* that the husband knows it is his bounden duty to satisfy. The vegetable kingdom also has its *dohadas*. Thus if a certain tree is known to blossom only after heavy rains heralded by thunder, its *dohada* is thunder, and until it is satisfied the pregnant tree cannot blossom.

More fanciful customs have arisen with regard to the *dohadas*: some must be touched by the feet of women; others must have wine sprinkled over them from the mouths of beauteous maidens. Hindu poetry abounds in such extravagant ideas. To give an example from the *Pārśvanātha Charitra* (vi, 796, 797) :

"(Come spring) when the *kuruwaka* trees bloom, as they are embraced by young maids; when the *ásoka* trees burst into bloom, as they are struck by the feet of young women; when the *bakula* trees bloom, if sprayed with wine from the mouths of gazelle-eyed maidens; when the *campaka* trees burst, as they are sprinkled with perfumed water."

Compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvi, 242, where a noble Roman pours wine on a beautiful beech-tree in a sacred grove of Diana in the Alban hills. For the significance of this see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. i, p. 40; cf. also vol. ii, pp. 28 and 29.

It is, however, the human and animal *dohadas* that enter so largely into Hindu fiction and serve some particular purpose in the narrative. Sometimes it is merely used as a start-motif for a story, but at other times it acts as a means of introducing some incident which, but for the strange longing of the woman, would have been quite out of place. Thus the water of life, the Garuda bird, magic chariots, etc., can be suddenly and unexpectedly introduced.

Then, again, a tale may be quite devoid of incidents until the *dohada* gives it a sudden jerk by creating a demand for the husband's entrails, or some equally disturbing request. It is surprising to what varied use the *dohada* has been put and what an important part it plays in Hindu fiction.

Professor Bloomfield divides the use of the *dohada* motif under the following six headings :—

1. *Dohada* either directly injures the husband, or impels some act on his part which involves danger or contumely.
2. *Dohada* prompts the husband to deeds of heroism, superior skill, wisdom or shrewdness.

3. *Dohada* takes the form of pious acts or pious aspirations.
4. *Dohada* is used as an ornamental incident, not influencing the main events of a story.
5. *Dohada* is feigned by the woman in order that she may accomplish some purpose, or satisfy some desire.
6. *Dohada* is obviated by tricking the woman into the belief that her desire is being fulfilled.

1. *Dohada either directly injures the husband, or impels some act on his part which involves danger or contumely*

Under this heading are classed those forms of *dohada* which injure.

It is seldom that the woman herself is injured as the result of her whim. There is, however, such a case in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 388 *et seq.* Here the disaster is brought about by her *dohada* being unsatisfied, and may consequently be regarded as a lesson to husbands on their moral duties. It is the husband who nearly always is the injured party. In *Thusa-Jātaka* (338) King Bimbisāra gives his wife blood from his right knee; in Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 84, Queen Vāsavī wishes to eat flesh from her husband's back. The king in order to satisfy his wife's cravings conceals some raw meat under a cotton garment and so the queen is freed from her *dohada*. She has, however, a second *dohada*—this time for the king's blood. Accordingly he opens various veins, and so satisfies the queen. The first of these *dohadas* more properly belongs to the sixth heading, as it shows trickery on the part of the husband, but the *dohada* was intended to injure the king. Compare also Tawney's *Kathākoça*, p. 177, and *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*, Warren, Amsterdam Academy, 1879. In *Samarādityasampkshepa*, ii, p. 356 *et seq.*, Queen Kusumāvali wishes to eat her husband's entrails. The difficulty is overcome by the king hiding the entrails of a hare in his clothes and bringing them out as his own. Matters, however, became complicated and finally the queen turns nun and the son slays his father.

Some of the best stories containing *dohada motifs* are animal stories. In *Suvannakakkata-Jātaka* (No. 389, Cambridge edition, vol. iii, p. 185) the longing of a she-crow for a Brahman's eyes causes not only her husband's death, but also that of her friend, the cobra.

In the "Story of the Couple of Parrots" (Tawney's *Kathākoṭa*, p. 42 *et seq.* (the hen-parrot longs for heads of rice from the king's rice-field. This is procured by the loving husband till the depredation is noticed. Snares are laid and the bird is taken before the king. The hen-parrot begs his life and, after the usual interloped stories, the couple are set at liberty, with leave to have unlimited rice. To show her satisfaction at having her *dohada* satisfied the hen-parrot promptly lays two eggs !

Compare with the above *Supattha-Jātaka* (No. 292, Cambridge edition, vol. ii, p. 295).

In Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtri*, p. 34, line 25 *et seq.*, Queen Paumavai longs to ride through the parks and groves on an elephant's back. The dutiful king accompanies her. The elephant gallops out of the path to the woods. The king and queen decide to catch hold of the branches of a fig-tree and so escape, but the queen fails to do this and is carried off by the elephant.

The best of these *dohada* stories can be treated under this first heading, as it deals with the *intended* harm to a third party caused by the *dohada* of the female which the husband, usually reluctantly, attempts to satisfy. The story is Buddhist in origin and appears in two distinct variants, both of which (as Bloomfield says) are distinguished by inventiveness and perfect Hindu setting.

It originally occurs as *Sumsumāra-Jātaka* (No. 208, Cambridge edition, vol. ii, p. 110), with a shorter form as *Vānara-Jātaka* (No. 342, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 87).

Briefly, the story is that of a sturdy monkey who lived by a certain curve of the Ganges. A crocodile's mate conceives a longing to eat its heart. Accordingly the crocodile approaches the monkey with a story about the fine fruits on the other side of the river, and offers to convey him across on his back. All is arranged, but when half-way across the crocodile plunges the monkey into the water and explains the action by telling him of his wife's whim.

"Friend," said the monkey, "it is nice of you to tell me. Why, if our hearts were inside us when we go jumping among the tree-tops, they would be all knocked to pieces!"

"Well, where do you keep them?" asked the other.

The monkey points to a fig-tree laden with ripe fruit. "There are our hearts hanging on that tree."

Accordingly he is taken back to fetch his heart, and so escapes.

Variants of this story are found on p. 110 of vol. ii (*op. cit.*, supp.). In the *Ocean of Story* it appears as the “Story of the Monkey and the Porpoise,” in Chapter LXIII, where I shall add a further note.

The other variant of this story appears as the *Vānarinda-Jātaka* (No. 57, Cambridge edition, vol. i, pp. 142-143), of which Bloomfield gives numerous similar tales under the “Cave-Call Motif” heading (*Journ. Amer. Orient Soc.*, vol. xxxvi, June 1916, p. 59). It starts as the above story, except that the monkey gets his food from an island in the river, which he reaches by using a large rock as a stepping-stone. The crocodile, in order to get the monkey’s heart for his mate, lies flat on the rock in the dark of the evening. The monkey, however, when about to return from the island, noticing that it seems a bit larger than usual, calls out “Hi! Rock!” repeatedly. As no answer comes he continues : “How comes it, friend rock, that you won’t answer me to-day?” At this the crocodile thinks the rock is accustomed to answer, so he answers for it, and thus not only betrays his presence, but tells his intentions. The monkey concedes, and tells the crocodile to open his jaws and he’ll jump in. But (according to the story) the eyes of a crocodile shut when he opens his jaws. The monkey realises this and, using his enemy’s back as a stepping-stone, reaches his own home in safety.

2. *Dohada prompts the husband to deeds of heroism, superior skill, wisdom or shrewdness*

It often happens that in order to satisfy his wife’s *dohada* the husband resorts to clever tricks or heroic deeds. Thus in *Bhadda-Sāla-Jātaka* (No. 465, Cambridge edition, vol. iv, pp. 91-98) the king’s commander-in-chief was a man named Bandhula, whose wife Mallikā had a *dohada* to bathe in and drink the water of the sacred tank in Vesālī city. The tank was closely guarded and covered with a strong wire net, but Bandhula heroically scatters the guards, breaks the net and plunges with his wife into the sacred tank, where after bathing and drinking they jump into their chariot and go back whence they had come. They are, however, pursued by five hundred men in chariots. Bandhula, in no way perturbed, asks Mallikā to tell him when all the five hundred men

are in one straight line. She does so, and holds the reins while the king speeds a shaft which pierces the bodies of all the five hundred men "in the place where the girdle is fastened."

Then Bandhula shouts to them to stop as they are all dead men. They refuse to believe this. "Loose the girdle of the first man," shouts Bandhula. They do so and he falls dead—and so with all the five hundred. This great feat had its full effect, for Mallikā bore him twin sons sixteen times in succession!

In the *Chavaka-Jātaka* (No. 309, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 18) the husband has to obtain a mango from the king's garden, and only saves himself by his great power of oratory and knowledge of the law. Compare with this Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 362 *et seq.* In *Dabbhapuppha-Jātaka* (No. 400, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 205) a jackal's mate longs to eat fresh rohita fish. The husband finds two otters quarrelling over such a fish. He is invited to arbitrate in their dispute, and does so by giving the head piece to one, the tail piece to the other and taking the centre as his fee. Cf. Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 332 *et seq.*

3. *Dohada takes the form of pious acts or pious aspirations*

In some cases instead of *dohada* prompting the wife to cruel or extravagant acts it works in the very opposite direction and produces longings to do pious acts or visit some famous hermitage or shrine, etc. This form of the *motif* appears almost entirely in Buddhist and Jaina edificatory texts. Accordingly in *Dhammapada Commentary* (v, 15b, and vi, 5³²) the mother longs to entertain monks; in the "Story of Nami," Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtrī* (p. 41, line 25 *et seq.*), the longing is to reverence the Jinas and the Sages, and to continually hear the teachings of the *titthayaras*.

Again in the *Kathākoṣa* (Tawney, p. 19) Madanarekhā has a longing to bestow a gift for the purpose of divine worship; on page 53 Queen Srutimati has a *dohada* to worship the gods in the holy place on the Ashtāpada mountain; and on page 64 the pregnant Queen Jayā felt a desire to worship gods and holy men, and to give gifts to the poor and wretched. In the "Dumb Cripple" story in Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 247, Queen Brahmavatī begs her

husband to order presents to be given away at all the gates of the city.

4. Dohada is used as an ornamental incident, not influencing the main events of a story

In certain cases the *dohada motif* is subordinate to the main events of a story, being in itself merely an ornamental and attractive incident introduced to give impetus to the narrative. In religious Sanskrit literature this use of *dohada* is scarce, but it enters largely into secular works, such as the *Ocean of Story*. Thus in Chapter XXII Vāsavadattā wishes for stories of great magicians and to fly in a magic chariot. Similarly in Chapter XXXV Queen Alankāraprabhā roams about the sky in a magic chariot in the shape of a beautiful lotus, "since her pregnant longing assumed that form."

5. Dohada is feigned by the woman in order that she may accomplish some purpose, or satisfy some desire

The idea of pretending to have a certain *dohada* in order to get a husband out of the way is common in Indian stories. It is frequent in the *Jātakas* (see Nos. 159, 491, 501, 534, 545). In the *Nigrodha-Jātaka* (No. 445, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 22-27) the trick *dohada* is used, not to send the husband away on some dangerous and nearly impossible task, but to please her husband by making him believe she is pregnant. As she is barren she is treated disrespectfully by her husband's relations. In her trouble she consults her old nurse, who teaches her the behaviour of pregnant women and what kind of strange things she must long for. By clever working all goes well, and as part of her pretended *dohada* she wanders into a wood, where, as luck will have it, she finds a babe abandoned by some passing caravan.

See also Jülg's *Kalmückische Märchen*, p. 31, where a trick to eat the heart of a stepson fails. The most extraordinary story of a feigned *dohada* is "The Nikini Story" in Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 284 *et seq.* Here the woman has a weakness for continually remarrying. This she does by pretending *dohada* for some object so hard to obtain that in the effort to satisfy her the husband always dies. The first whim is for some stars from the sky, the second for a bed of sand from the bottom of the sea, the third for Nikini. After

long and weary wandering the husband is told that his wife must have a lover and merely wanted him to get killed. By a supposed magical cage they finally get into the Nikini man's house, who proves to be his wife's paramour. The husband, hidden in the cage, leaps out and beats the Nikini to death.

6. Dohada is obviated by tricking the woman into the belief that her desire is being fulfilled

An excellent example of this form of *dohada* is that in our present text, when Queen Mṛigāvatī thinks she is bathing in a bath of blood, whereas in reality it is water dyed by the juice of lac and other red extracts.

In *Pañcisikha-parvan* (viii, 225 *et seq.*) the chief's daughter wishes to drink the moon. Accordingly a shed is constructed the thatch of which has an opening. At night a bowl of milk is placed on the floor so that the ray of moonlight falls directly on it. The girl is told to drink, and as she drinks a man posted on the roof gradually covers the hole in the thatch, so she is convinced she has drunk the moon. Bloomfield gives a number of references to works citing tricks played by the moon and other things reflected in water, milk, etc. (*op. cit.*, p. 24). He does not, however, refer to the most interesting side of the question—the extent to which such ideas are actually embedded in the customs of the Hindus. "The Doctrine of Lunar Sympathy" has been discussed by Frazer (*Golden Bough, Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, vol. ii, chap. ix, pp. 140-150). The belief that the moon has a sympathetic influence over vegetation is well known throughout literature, and on the same principle the custom of drinking the moon is found in different parts of India. See Crooke's *Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. i, pp. 14-15.

Tricks used for satisfying *dohadas*, by the husband pretending he is giving his wife his own entrails, etc., have already been mentioned under section 1.

In conclusion I would mention a curious case of *dohada* from Java, quoted by Frazer (*Golden Bough*, vol. ii, p. 23). A woman sometimes craves for a certain pungent fruit usually only eaten by pigs. The husband, on approaching the plant, pretends to be a pig and grunts loudly, so that the plant, taking him for a pig, will mitigate the flavour of the fruit.

APPENDIX IV

APPENDIX IV

SACRED PROSTITUTION

THE story of Rūpiṇikā (p. 138 *et seq.*) is laid in “a city named Mathurā, the birthplace of Kṛishṇa.” The lady herself is described as a courtesan who at the time of worship went into the temple to perform her duty.

From this passage it is quite clear that Rūpiṇikā combined the professions of prostitution and temple servant, which latter consisted chiefly in dancing, fanning the idol and keeping the temple clean. She was, in fact, a *dēva-dāsī*, or “handmaid of the god.” As we shall see in the course of this appendix, the name applied to these so-called “sacred women” varied at different times and in different parts of India.

Mathurā is the modern Muttra, situated on the right bank of the Jumna, thirty miles above Agra. From at least 300 B.C. (when Megasthenes wrote) it had been sacred to Kṛishṇa, and we hear from reliable Chinese travellers that in A.D. 400 and 650 it was an important centre of Buddhism and at a later date again became specially associated with the worship of Kṛishṇa, owing to the fact that Mathurā was the scene of the adventures and miracles of his childhood as described in the *Vishnu Purāṇa*. Thus Mathurā has always been one of the most sacred spots in Hindu mythology.¹

It has suffered from the Mohammedan invaders more than any city of Northern India, or nearly so, for it was first of all sacked in 1017-1018 by the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and again in 1500 by Sikander Lodi, in 1636 by Shāh Jahān, in 1669-1670 by Aurangzēb, by whose commands the magnificent temple of Kēśavadēva was levelled to the ground, and by Aḥmad Shāh in 1756. By this time every temple, image and shrine had been destroyed and a large part of the population had embraced Mohammedanism. The history of Mathurā is typical of what has occurred in many cities of Northern India, and I consider it is an important factor in the explanation of

¹ See F. S. Growse, *Mathurā: A District Memoir*, 2nd edition, 1880. Published by the N.W. Provinces & Oudh Government Press.

why sacred prostitution is much more developed in Southern India.

At the date when Somadeva wrote the city must have recovered from its first sacking and the religious life have been assuming its normal course. It was *after* our author's day that the systematic and thorough destruction began, and in consequence we hear less about Hindu temples of Northern India.

In view of the anthropological importance of the connection of religion and prostitution, and of the interesting ritual, customs and ceremonies which it embodies, I shall endeavour to lay before my readers what data I have been able to collect, with a few suggestions as to the possible explanation of the curious institution of the *dēva-dāsīs*.

Ancient India

Owing to the lack of early historical evidence it is impossible to say to what extent sacred prostitution existed in ancient India.

Even in modern times it is often hard to differentiate between secular and sacred prostitution, while, through the clouds of myth and mystery which cover the dawn of Indian history, any distinction must be looked upon as little more than conjecture. In common with so many other parts of the world secular prostitution in India dates from the earliest times and is mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, where terms meaning "harlot," "son of a maiden," "son of an unmarried girl," etc., occur. In the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* it seems to be recognised as a profession,¹ while in the law-books the prostitute is regarded with disfavour. (Manu, ix, 259; iv, 209, 211, 219, 220; v, 90.) In the Buddhist age Brāhmans were forbidden to be present at displays of dancing or music, owing to their inseparable connection with prostitution; yet on the other hand we see in the *Jātakas* (tales of the previous births of the Buddha) that prostitutes were not only tolerated, but held in a certain amount of respect.²

We also hear of the great wealth of some of the women and the valuable gifts made to the temples, which reminds us of

¹ See R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888-1889, I, xxv, pp. 196, 275, 309 *et seq.*; ii, p. 120; also A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *A Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, i, p. 395; ii, p. 480 *et seq.*

² See index volume to the English translation of the *Jātaka* stories under the word "courtesan." Cambridge, 1913.

similar donations among the *ēraipai* of ancient Greece. In his article on “Indian Prostitution” in Hastings’ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. x, p. 407) W. Crooke quotes Somadeva as saying that prostitutes are occasionally of noble character and in some cases acquire enormous wealth. He also gives other references apart from those already quoted.

As literary historical evidence on the subject under discussion is so scarce, the discovery in 1905 of a work on Hindu polity was of the utmost importance. It is known as the *Arthaśāstra*, and gives full details of the social, administrative, fiscal and land systems of the Maurya age. The author is Kautilya (Chānakya, or Vishnugupta), who wrote about 300 B.C.¹ Book II, chap. xxvii, deals with the duties of the superintendent of prostitutes (*ganikās*), who held a highly paid post at the Court of Chandragupta. The women enjoyed a privileged position and held the royal umbrella, fan and golden pitcher. They were, however, subject to strict official control, and Kautilya gives a long list of penalties for any breach of the regulations—for instance, a *ganikā* who refused her favours to anyone whom the king might choose received a thousand lashes with a whip or else had to pay five thousand *panas*. A further clause states that all the rules prescribed for the *ganikās* are also to apply to dancers, actors, singers, musicians, pimps, etc. There is no mention of temples, but the fact that the dancer, musician and prostitute are all put on the same basis is important in attempting to trace the history of sacred prostitution.

The corruption of the Court at this period is partly shown by the fact that every *ganikā* had to pay to the government each month the amount of two days’ earnings. They were, moreover, sometimes used as secret service agents and acquired position and wealth.

We shall see later that a similar state of affairs existed at the great city of Vijayanagar in the sixteenth century.

• *The Christian Era (First Eleven Centuries)*

In the first eleven centuries of the Christian era more attention seems to have been paid to what we may politely

¹ See the English translation by R. Shama Sastri in *Mysore Review*, 1906-1909, Books I-IV, and *Indian Antiquary*, 1909-1910, Books V-XV; also list of modern articles, etc., on the *Arthaśāstra* on pp. 679, 680 of vol. i of the *Cambridge History of India*, 1922. Both author and date are, however, still doubtful.

call the Science of Erotics, and many such works were written.¹ Very few, however, are now extant, and it is of interest to note that those which do exist usually mention numerous other similar writings from which they have largely drawn. In most cases they deal in all seriousness with some quite trivial point (such as the best way for a courtesan to rid herself of a lover whose wealth is nearly spent) by listing the various opinions of previous writers and then giving their own opinion as the most acceptable.

It was a method used in 300 B.C. by Kauṭilya, and again by Vātsyāyana, who was the earliest and most important erotic writer of the Christian era. His work, the *Kāma Sūtra*, dates from about A.D. 250, and has been translated into most European languages, including English.² Although Vātsyāyana devotes a whole book (six chapters) to courtesans, there is no direct reference to sacred prostitution. He mentions, however, dancing, singing and the playing of musical instruments as among the chief requirements not only for a prostitute, but also for any married woman wishing to keep her husband's affections. He divides prostitutes into nine classes,³ the most honourable of which is the *ganikā*, which, as we have already seen, was the name used by Kauṭilya. "Such a woman," says Vātsyāyana, "will always be rewarded by kings and praised by gifted persons, and her connection will be sought by many people."

The next work of importance was by Dandin, who ranks among the greatest poets of India. He flourished in the sixth century. Two of his works give a vivid, though perhaps rather exaggerated, picture of the luxury and depravity of his day. The first is the *Daśa Kumāra Charita*,⁴ or *Adventures of the Ten Princes*, while the second (whose authorship is doubtful,

¹ See J. J. Meyer, *Kāvya-saṅgraha : erotische und exoterische Lieder. Metrische Übersetzungen aus indischen und anderen Sprachen*. Leipzig [1903]. *Das Weib im altindischen Epos. Ein Beitrag zur indischen und zur vergleichenden Kulturgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1915. Also R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik ; das Liebesleben des Sanskritvolkes nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Leipzig, 1902; Berlin, 1911.

² See Kāma Śāstra Society (R. F. Burton and F. F. Arbuthnot) edition, 1883, and that by K. R. Iyengar, Mysore, 1921. Details of various articles on the *Kāma Sūtra* and its author will be found in my *Bibliography of Sir Richard F. Burton*, London, 1923, pp. 166-171.

³ Thurston in his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. ii, p. 125, says that old Hindu works give seven classes of *dēva-dāsi*, but gives no reference.

⁴ Edited by H. H. Wilson, G. Bühler and P. Peterson, and freely translated by P. W. Jacob.

though sometimes ascribed to Dandin) is the *Mrichchhakatika*,¹ or *Clay Cart*, which treats of the courtship and marriage of a poor Brāhmaṇa and a wealthy and generous prostitute. Both works are important in our discussion as giving some idea of the social condition of middle and low class life of the sixth century.

A certain passage in the *Daśa Kumāra Charita* is of special interest as showing how all female accomplishments were to be found in the courtesan, whose education and conversational powers would certainly be more attractive than the uneducated and paltry household chatter of the wife.

The story goes that a famous dancer, who was, of course, also a prostitute, suddenly pretended to feel the desire to become a devotee. She accordingly went to the abode of an ascetic to carry out her purpose. Soon, however, her mother follows to dissuade her from her intention, and addresses the holy man as follows :—

“ Worthy sir, this daughter of mine would make it appear that I am to blame, but, indeed, I have done my duty, and have carefully prepared her for that profession for which by birth she was intended. From earliest childhood I have bestowed the greatest care upon her, doing everything in my power to promote her health and beauty. As soon as she was old enough I had her carefully instructed in the arts of dancing, acting, playing on musical instruments, singing, painting, preparing perfumes and flowers, in writing and conversation, and even to some extent in grammar, logic and philosophy. She was taught to play various games with skill and dexterity, how to dress well, and show herself off to the greatest advantage in public ; I hired persons to go about praising her skill and her beauty, and to applaud her when she performed in public, and I did many other things to promote her success and to secure for her liberal remuneration ; yet after all the time, trouble and money which I have spent upon her, just when I was beginning to reap the fruit of my labours, the ungrateful girl has fallen in love with a stranger, a young Brāhmaṇa, without property, and wishes to marry him and give up her profession, notwithstanding all my entreaties and representations of the poverty and distress to which all her family will be reduced, if she persists in her

¹ Apart from the earlier European translations see that by A. W. Ryder, issued in 1905 by the Harvard University. It forms vol. ix of the Harvard Oriental Series.

purpose ; and because I oppose this marriage she declares that she will renounce the world and become a devotee.”¹ It transpires in the course of the tale that the dancing-girl stays with the ascetic, who falls madly in love with her. She leads him to her home and finally to the palace of the king, where he learns to his great consternation that the whole thing was merely the result of a wager between two court beauties. The participation of the king in the joke and his rewarding the winner clearly shows the importance of the courtesan in this age.

Passing on to the eighth century we have Dāmodara-gupta’s *Kuttanimatam*, which resembles Vātsyāyana’s *Kāma Sūtra*. Besides a German translation, it has also been translated into French.²

This was followed in the tenth or eleventh centuries by Kalyāna Malla’s *Ananga-Ranga*, which is a general guide to *ars amoris indica*. It is very well known in India and has been translated into numerous European languages.³

The only other work worthy of mention is Kshemendra’s *Samayamātrikā*. It can best be described as a guide or handbook for the courtesan, but its chief value lies in the fact that the author was a contemporary of Somadeva. His work has been translated into German⁴ and French.⁵

The connection between Kshemendra and Somadeva is strengthened by the fact that, besides being contemporary Kashmirian court poets, they both wrote a great collection of stories from a common source—the *Brihat-Kathā*. Somadeva’s collection was the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, while that by Kshemendra was the *Brihat-Kathā-Mañjari*. The latter work was, however, only a third as long as the former and cannot compare in any way with the *Ocean of Story* as regards its style, metrical skill and masterly arrangement and handling.

¹ The extract is from p. 76 of *Early Ideas : A Group of Hindoo Stories*, 1881, by “Anaryan”—that is to say, by F. F. Arbuthnot. He was helped in his translations by Edward Relatsek, who assisted both Burton and Arbuthnot in the Kāma Shāstra Society publications.

² See the German translation by J. J. Meyer, 1903 [*Altindische Schelmenbücher*, ii], and *Les Leçons de l’Entremetteuse*, by Louis de Langle, *Bibliothèque des Curieux*, Paris, 1920, p. 127 to end.

³ For the English translation see the edition of the Kāma Shāstra Society (Burton and Arbuthnot), 1885. Further details will be found in my Burton *Bibliography*, 1923, pp. 171-173.

⁴ Translated by J. J. Meyer, 1903 [*Altindische Schelmenbücher*, i].

⁵ *Le Bréviaire de la Courtisane*, Louis de Langle, *Bibliothèque des Curieux*, Paris, 1920, pp. 1-126.

of the stories. I shall have more to say about Kshemendra in Vol. X of the present work.

It is practically impossible to say to what extent the above-mentioned works have bearing on sacred prostitution. I have merely endeavoured to acquaint the reader with such literature as exists dealing with the social life of women of these early times. It seems, however, quite safe to assert that from Buddhist times onwards the prostitute, especially the more learned classes, was held in a certain amount of esteem. She was an important factor in the palace and often acquired great wealth. Dancing and singing were among her accomplishments, but to what extent she was connected with temples we are not told. Soon after the twelfth century historical and literary evidence increases and it becomes possible to examine our data under definite geographical headings. Although Southern India yields by far the most material for our discussion, we will begin in the north, and work slowly southwards.

Northern India

In the introductory remarks to this appendix it has been shown to what extent Mathurā suffered from Mohammedan invasion. The whole of Northern India was similarly affected, and the bloody battles, enforced slavery, terrible tortures and complete destruction of Hindu temples and other public buildings during the Mohammedan Sultanate of Delhi (1175-1340) clearly show that the great upheavals so caused made any continual religious practices of the Hindus an impossibility. By 1340 the Sultanate of Delhi was breaking up and in the south Vijayanagar was already a powerful kingdom. I shall have more to say about Vijayanagar in the section on Southern India.

The destruction of the Hindu temples was continued with unabated zeal in the Mogul Empire. In the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) we are told by his most intimate friend, Abu-l Fazl,¹ that the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number) had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called Shaitānpūrah, or Devilsville. A *Dāroghah* (superintendent) and a clerk were also appointed for it, who

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akkāri*, Abū-l-Fazl, Blochmann and Jarrett, *Biblio. Indica*. Calcutta, 1873, 1891, 1894 (3 vols.).

registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connections provided the toll-collectors heard of it. But, without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing-girls to his house.

The celebrated musician Tānsen, who was attached to Akbar's Court, became a kind of patron saint of dancing-girls. It is believed that chewing the leaves of the tree above Tānsen's grave at Gwālior imparts a wonderful melody to the voice, and consequently girls make pilgrimages there for that purpose.¹

In the reigns of the next two Emperors, Jahāngīr (1605-1627) and Shāh Jahān (1628-1658), the luxury, ostentation, extravagance and depravity increased,² and it was not till the reign of Aurangzēb (1659-1707) that any attempt was made to check the ruthless waste which was slowly draining the resources of the country. Aurangzēb was a Mohammedan Puritan who lived and died an ascetic. During his long reign thousands of Hindu temples were demolished by his orders, and every effort was made to wipe out prostitution and everything pertaining thereto.

Khāfi Khān,³ the historian, tells rather a pathetic story. It appears that Aurangzēb issued public proclamations prohibiting singing and dancing, and at the same time ordered all the dancing-girls to marry or be banished from the kingdom. They did not, however, submit to this treatment without a protest. One Friday as the Emperor was going to the mosque (another account says he was sitting at his audience window) he suddenly saw about a thousand women carrying over twenty highly ornamented biers. Their piercing cries and lamentations filled the air. The Emperor, surprised at such a display of grief, asked the cause of so great sorrow. He was told that Music, the mother of the dancing-girls, was now dead, and they were burying her. "Bury her deep," cried the unmoved Emperor; "she must never rise again."

After the death of Aurangzēb there followed an anarchical

¹ Bholanath Chandra, *Travels*, ii, 68 *et seq.* W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, ii, 333 *et seq.* 1844. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Reports*, ii, 370; xxi, 110.

² Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, edited by W. Irvine. Indian Text Series. London, 1907. See vol. ii, p. 9.

³ *Muntakhabu-l-hubāb* (H. Elliot, *History of India*, London, 1867-1877, vol. vii, p. 283).

period which lasted till the advent of the British. During this time the standard of morality among the princes and public men sank lower and lower. Their lives were vicious and cruel in the extreme, and their gross sensuality naturally affected their courts and, through them, the populace. Prostitution had increased to huge dimensions, and appears to have been entirely secular. Thus we see how, partly owing to foreign conquest and partly to the general spread of immorality, the “religious” element in the temple dancers dropped out and they became ordinary prostitutes, who danced when occasion demanded. They would naturally be called upon if any dancing was wanted for a wedding feast or other private entertainment, for dancing and prostitution had been inseparable in India from the earliest times.

In modern accounts of the tribes and castes of Northern India (which are few enough) we find, therefore, practically no mention of temples or sacred prostitution.

Certain castes such as the *tawāif* and *gandharb* consist entirely of dancers, singers and prostitutes, but their sub-castes are so numerous that it is quite impossible to distinguish or describe them by any definite principle. Details of the *tawāif* and similar castes were given by Crooke¹ in 1896, and when writing on the same subject in 1918² he apparently had nothing further to add. The following details are taken from his former work.

The term *tawāif* is a general one, but is chiefly used for Mohammedan girls, while the Hindu branch is usually called *pātar*, *pātur*, *pāturiyā* (from the Sanskrit *pātra*, an actor). When they are nubile, the *pātar* girls marry a *pīpal* tree and then commence their career of prostitution. One of the numerous sub-castes is known as *rājanya*, which appears to be the only one whose members actually dance in the Hindu temples. Prostitution is said to be rare among them. The *pātars* have Krishna as their personal god and Siva, in the form of Mahādēva, as their guardian deity. Among the *tawāifs* the rites are interesting. The girl is taught to dance and sing when about seven or eight years old. At the commencement of her training sweets are offered at a mosque

¹ W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1896. See vol. i, p. 245; vol. ii, p. 379 *et seq.*; and vol. iv, p. 364 *et seq.*

² Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, 1918. See article on “Prostitution,” by W. Crooke, p. 406 *et seq.*

and then distributed among Mohammedan *fagirs*. At the first lesson the master receives a present of sweetmeats besides his pay. When the girl reaches puberty and her breasts begin to develop the rite of *angiyā*, or "the assumption of the bodice," is performed. Certain of the brethren are feasted and the girl is ready for her first paramour. After the price is fixed she goes to him, which rite is known as *sir dhankāī*, or "the covering of the head." When she returns after the first visit, the brethren are again given sweetmeats, after which follows the rite of *missi*, or "blackening of the teeth." She is dressed like a bride and paraded through the streets, afterwards attending a party with singing and dancing. The teeth cannot be stained until this feast is held, but Crooke says that at Lucknow the rule was relaxed. After the rite of *missi* the girl ceases to wear the nose-ring, and hence the ceremony is sometimes known as *nathnī utārnā*, or "the taking-off of the nose-ring."

Somewhat similar ceremonies exist among the *gandharbs*, or *gandharvs*, who take their name from the heavenly musicians who attend the gods at Indra's Court. In Northern India they are found only in Benares, Allahābād and Ghāzi-pur. They are Hindus of the Vaishṇava sect. Ganeśa is the patron of the dancing-girls since he is regarded by them as the author of music. They offer him wreaths of flowers and a sweetmeat made of sesamum and sugar every Wednesday. There are also certain gypsy tribes, such as the *bediyās* and *nāts*, who are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes. They are divided into a large number of clans whose occupation is, nevertheless, the same. As they have no connection with temple worship, further details here would be superfluous. They have been fully described by B. R. Mitra¹ and W. Crooke.²

Central India

As the ancient kingdoms of India were confined either to the North or South, early travellers were naturally drawn to the most important cities, and tell us but little of Central India, especially as regards the religious practices and social conditions of the towns.

¹ "The Gypsies of Bengal," *Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London*, vol. iii, pp. 120-133.

² *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. i, p. 245; vol. iv, pp. 56-80.

The earliest direct reference to the dancing-girls of Central India which I can find is made by the Chinese traveller Chau Ju-Kwa in his work, *Chu-fan-chü*, dealing with the Chinese and Arab trade of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹ Speaking of Guzerat (p. 92) he mentions "four thousand Buddhist temple buildings, in which live over twenty thousand dancing-girls who sing twice daily while offering food to the Buddha (*i.e.* the idols) and while offering flowers." He also speaks of similar customs in Cambodia (p. 53). They are here called *a-nan*, derived from the Sanskrit word *ānanda*, meaning "joy" or "happiness."²

We hear little more on the subject till the seventeenth century, when the French traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier³ made his second journey to the East (1638-1643). In describing Golconda (five miles west of the modern city of Hyderabad) he says there are over 20,000 public women entered in the *Daraglia's* [*sic*] register. They danced before the king every Friday. In the evenings they stood before the doors of their houses and as soon as they lighted a lamp or candle all the drinking-places were opened. No tax was levied on the women, for they were looked upon as the chief cause of the large consumption of *tari*, which was a Government monopoly. No mention is made of the women dancing in the temples, but from the evidence of other writers it seems very probable they did this in their spare time!

We shall return to Hyderabad (Nizam's dominions) later when giving the most recent information, but we now pass on to the east coast and examine the evidence given by W. Ward, the Baptist missionary, who wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴ He is speaking of the temple of Jagannātha (usually called Puri), in Orissa. "It is a well-authenticated fact," he says, "that at this place a number of females of infamous character are employed to dance and sing before the god. They live in separate houses, not in the temple. Persons going to see Jugūnnat'hu [*sic*] are often guilty of criminal actions with these females."

¹ Translated from the Chinese and annotated by Hirth and Rockhill, St Petersburg Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911.

² See Henri Cordier's *Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda*, 1920, pp. 115, 116.

³ *Travels of Tavernier*, translated by V. Ball, 2 vols., 1889. See vol. 1, pp. 157, 158.

⁴ *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*, 2nd edition, Serampore, 1815-1818. See vol. ii, p. 327.

Then in a note he adds : "The officiating Brāhmans there continually live in adulterous connection with them."

Puri is to-day one of the most sacred spots in India. The name Juggernaut, the anglicised corruption of Jagannātha (Lord of the World), is that given to the form of Vishṇu worshipped there. The legend of the sacred blue-stone image, details of the famous Car Festival and the truth about the suicides under its great wooden wheels have been told by Hunter.¹ The present temple is built in the shape of a pyramid, and is surmounted with the mystic wheel and flag of Vishṇu. The annual rent-roll of the temple was put at no less than £68,000. Since Ward's days little has been written on the *dēva-dāsī* of Central India. Anything of importance was reproduced by R. V. Russell in his work on the tribes and castes of the Central Provinces.² He says :

"When a dancing-girl attains adolescence, her mother makes a bargain with some rich man to be her first consort. Oil and turmeric are rubbed on her body for five days as in the case of a bride. A feast is given to the caste and the girl is married to a dagger, walking seven times round the sacred post with it. Her human consort then marks her forehead with vermillion and covers her head with her head-cloth seven times. In the evening she goes to live with him for as long as he likes to maintain her, and afterwards takes up the practice of her profession. In this case it is necessary that the man should be an outsider and not a member of the *kasbi* caste, because the quasi-marriage is the formal commencement on the part of the woman of her hereditary trade. . . . In the fifth or seventh month of the first pregnancy of a *kasbi* woman 108³ fried wafers of flour and sugar, known as *gūjahs*, are prepared, and are eaten by her as well as distributed to friends and relatives who are invited to the house. After this they, in return, prepare similar wafers and send them to the pregnant woman. Some little time before the birth the mother

¹ *Orissa*, 2 vols., 1872, and *District Gazetteer of Puri*, 1908. See also p. 355 *et seq.* of Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, London, 1886.

² R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, 4 vols., London, 1916. See under the word "Kasbi," vol. iii, p. 373.

³ The number 108 is mystical among both Brāhmans and Buddhists. Thus at Gautama's birth the number of Brāhmans summoned to foretell his destiny was 108; there are 108 shrines of special sanctity in India; there are 108 Upanishads; 108 rupees is a usual sum for a generous temple or other donation. In Tibet and China we also find 108 occurring as a sacred or mystic number in connection with architecture, ritual and literature. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 347, London, 1903.

washes her head with gram flour, puts on new clothes, and jewels, and invites all her friends to the house, feasting them with rice boiled in milk, cakes and sweetmeats.”

The term *kasbi*, derived from the Arabic *kasab*=prostitution, denotes rather a profession than a caste. The term is only used for Hindus, as is also *gāyan*. The Mohammedan dancing-girls are known, as in Northern India, by the name of *tawāif*.

In Bengal this class of women become so-called religious mendicants, who join the Vaishṇavī or Bairāgī community. They wander about the country, and, under the cloak of religion, carry on a large trade in kidnapping. They are notoriously licentious, and infanticide is apparently common.¹

The following description of the dress and dancing of the better class of *kasbi* women is given by Russell.²

They “are conspicuous by their wealth of jewellery and their shoes of patent leather or other good material. Women of other castes do not commonly wear shoes in the streets. The *kasbis* are always well and completely clothed, and it has been noticed elsewhere that the Indian courtesan is more modestly dressed than most women. No doubt in this matter she knows her business. A well-to-do dancing-girl has a dress of coloured muslin or gauze trimmed with tinsel lace, with a short waist, long straight sleeves, and skirts which reach a little below the knee, a shawl falling from the head over the shoulders and wrapped round the body, and a pair of tight satin trousers, reaching to the ankles. The feet are bare, and strings of small bells are tied round them. They usually dance and sing to the accompaniment of the *tabla*, *sārangi* and *majira*. The *tabla* or drum is made of two half-bowls—one brass or clay for the bass, and the other of wood for the treble. They are covered with goat-skin and played together. The *sārangi* is a fiddle. The *majira* (cymbals) consist of two metallic cups slung together and used for beating time. Before a dancing-girl begins her performance she often invokes the aid of Sārasvati, the Goddess of Music. She then pulls her ear as a sign of remembrance of Tānsen, India’s greatest musician, and a confession to his spirit of the imperfection of her own sense of music. The movements of the feet are accompanied by a continual opening and closing of henna-dyed hands; and at intervals the girl kneels at the

¹ Sir H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, art. “Vaishṇava,” Calcutta, 1891.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 383.

feet of one or other of the audience. On the festival of Basant Panchmi, or the commencement of spring, these girls worship their dancing-dress and musical instruments with offerings of rice, flowers and a cocoanut."

Proceeding southwards we find that in Hyderabad (Nizam's dominions) the usual term used for Telugu dancing-girls is *bogam*, although several others, including those with which we are already acquainted, are found. The *bogams* are divided into two classes, according as to whether they are Hindus or Mohammedans. If they are the former, the titles *sāni* or *nāyaka* are attached to their names; if the latter, they are called *jān* or *nāyakan*. Siraj Ul Hassan¹ describes them as having been originally attached to the temples of Siva and Vishnu as "servants of the gods," most of whom now earn their living by dancing, singing and prostitution. The initiation ceremonies of a *bogam sāni* include the marriage of the girl to an idol of Krishna, and those of a *bogam jān* to a dagger. In the former case a marriage-booth of sixteen pillars is put up at the girl's house, whither the idol is brought on an auspicious day.

"The girl is made to stand before the idol as if it were the bridegroom, a curtain is held between them and the officiating Brāhman, reciting the *Mangalashtaka*, or marriage stanzas, weds them in the orthodox fashion. The ceremonies that follow correspond in every particular to those of a Kapu or Munnur marriage. On the *Nugveli* day the girl is seated by the side of the idol and made to offer *puja* to Gaurī, the consort of Siva. Betel leaves, areca nuts and *kunkum* (red powder) are distributed to the assembly of dancing-girls, who sing songs, and, after blessing the bride, retire to their houses."

In the case of a *bogam jān* when a girl is married to a dagger the ceremony resembles that above described, with the addition that the rite of *missi* is also performed. It includes not only the blackening of the teeth, as among the *tawāif* of Northern India, but also the tying of a string of glass beads round the neck. Girls thus married are to a certain extent envied, for, as their husband is immortal, they can never become widows—a thing to be avoided at any cost! The *bogams* belong to both the Vaishnava and Saiva sects. Their chief gods are Krishna and Ganeśa, and in the light

¹ Syed Siraj Ul Hassan, *The Tribes and Castes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions [Hyderabad]*, Bombay, 1920. See vol. i, p. 91 *et seq.*

tenth of Aswin (October) they worship their dancing dresses, instruments, etc.¹ Their ranks are recruited to a certain extent from girls who have been vowed to temple service by their parents on their recovery from sickness, or on some other similar occasion when they wish to show gratitude to their gods. The training of the *bogams* is most thorough and complete. “Commencing their studies at the early age of seven or eight, they are able to perform at twelve or thirteen years of age and continue dancing till they are thirty or forty years old. Dancing-girls attached to temples are required to dance daily before the idols, while the priests are officiating and offering *puja* to them : but the majority of these are trained to appear in public, when they are profusely ornamented with gold and jewels and sumptuously dressed in silk and muslin.”² Their dress, mode of dancing and details of accompanying instruments are the same as already described by Russell. Most of their songs are lewd in character, usually relating to the amorous life of Krishṇa.

Turning westwards to Bombay there is in the Ratnāgiri and Kānara districts and in the Sāvantvādi State a Sūdra caste in which the men are known as *devlis* or *nāiks*, and the women as *bhāvins* or *nāikins*. The majority trace their descent from the female servants of the Sāvantvādi or Mālvan chiefs who were regularly dedicated to the service of the local gods. Women from other Sūdra castes can become *bhāvins* by simply pouring oil on their heads from the god’s lamp in the temple. When a *bhāvin* girl attains puberty she has to undergo a form of marriage known as the *seshā*. The bridegroom is represented by a god from the temple. On an auspicious day Gaṇapati is worshipped and the ceremony of *Punyāhavāchana* (holy-day blessing) is performed at the girl’s house, and also in a temple, by the *Gurav* or *Rāul* of the temple. The *Gurav* and other servants of the temple then go in procession to the girl’s house, taking with them a dagger and the mask of the god. The marriage ceremony is performed with the same details as an ordinary marriage, the mask taking the place of the bridegroom. The *homa*, or marriage sacrifice, is also performed. The ceremony ends with a feast to those assembled, but is frequently dispensed with owing to the expenditure involved. In such cases the young girl performs

¹ In the Central Provinces we saw that this worship was made in the spring, not the autumn.

² Siraj Ul Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

the worship of Ganapati, and dressing herself in her best attire goes to a temple to the beating of drums, accompanied by a party of *bhāvins* and temple servants, taking in her hands a cocoanut and a packet of sugar. She places the cocoanut and sugar before the image of the god and bows to him. The *Gurav* and other temple servants then invoke on her the blessings of the god, and the ceremony ends. Her temple duties are confined to sweeping the floor, sprinkling it with fresh cow-dung, and waving the fly-whisk before the god. She practises prostitution promiscuously, and only differs from the secular variety by her being a *dēva-dāsī*.

It is, however, interesting to note that the *bhāvin* is not allowed to dance or sing in public. The *devlis* also serve in the temples, their chief duties being the blowing of horns and trumpets morning and evening. The daughters of *bhāvins* usually follow their mothers' calling; if not, they are married to the sons of other *bhāvins*—i.e. to the *devlis*.¹

In the Karnātak, Kolhapur and the States of the Southern Mahārātha country the *dāsa* caste dedicate their men to the temple, and their women only in a lesser degree. Contrary to the usual rule the women so dedicated are not allowed in the temple at all, their duties being only to sweep the temple yard. They live by prostitution.

Southern India

As has already been mentioned, it is in Southern India that the tenets of the Hindu faith have suffered less from the devastating hand of the invader. Consequently details of ritual have become deeply rooted in the minds of the people, so that in many cases we may expect to find earlier and more original forms of any particular custom or ceremony. Furthermore, the love of building innumerable temples and constantly increasing the Hindu pantheon always appears to have been greater in the South. It is here, therefore, that we get much fuller accounts of sacred prostitution, and nearly all the writings of missionaries and travellers have something to say of the *dēva-dāsīs* of Madras, Mysore or Travancore.

¹ See the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*, monograph 60, *Bhāvins and Devlis*, 1909; and monograph 92, *Dāsa*, 1907. Reference should also be made to Kennedy's *Criminal Classes of Bombay*, 1908, pp. 13, 122, 274 and 283, and to R. E. Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 3 vols., 1920.

The earliest direct reference to the subject I can find appears in certain Tamil inscriptions dating back to the time of Rājarāja the Great, the most prominent of the Chōla monarchs. He came to the throne in A.D. 985 and, like all the Chōla kings, was a votary of Siva. One inscription¹ shows that in A.D. 1004 the chief temple at Tanjore had four hundred *tali-cheri-pendugul*, or “women of the temple,” attached to it. They lived in the streets surrounding the temple and in return for their service received one or more shares, each of which consisted of the produce of one *vēli*² of land, calculated at 100 *kalam* of paddy. The whole Chōla country was full of temples with *dēva-dāsīs* in attendance, as is clear from this inscription, which gives a long list of the dancing-girls who had been transferred to the Tañjavūr (Tanjore) temple. After each name details are added showing from what temple the girl originally came, and the number of shares she was now to receive. Finally the names and shares of the eunuchs, musicians, dancing-masters, singers, parasol-bearers, barbers and other men connected with the temple are given. It is interesting to note that although Rājarāja was a Saiva, the temple girls imported came from both Saiva and Vaishnava temples.

The next mention of the *dēva-dāsīs* is made by the greatest of mediæval travellers, Marco Polo. About 1290 he was on the Coromandel coast, and in describing the inhabitants of the “Province of Maabar” (*i.e.* Tanjore) he says³: “They have certain abbeys in which are gods and goddesses to whom many young girls are consecrated; their fathers and mothers presenting them to that idol for which they entertain the greatest devotion. And when the [monks] of a convent desire to make a feast to their god, they send for all those consecrated damsels and make them sing and dance before the idol with great festivity. They also bring meats to feed their idol withal; that is to say, the damsels prepare dishes of meat and leave it there a good while, and then the damsels all go to their dancing and singing and festivity for about as long as a great Baron might require to eat his dinner. By that time they say the spirit of the idols has consumed the

¹ E. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, Part III, pp. 259-303, *Archæological Survey of India*, Madras, 1895.

² 26,755 square metres.

³ Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1903, vol. ii, pp. 345-346. See also p. 335 for identification of the places visited by Polo.

substance of the food, so they remove the viands to be eaten by themselves with great jollity. This is performed by these damsels several times every year until they are married.

"The reason assigned for summoning the damsels to these feasts is, as the monks say, that the god is vexed and angry with the goddess, and will hold no communication with her ; and they say that if peace be not established between them things will go from bad to worse, and they never will bestow their grace and benediction. So they make those girls come in the way described, to dance and sing, all but naked, before the god and the goddess. And those people believe that the god often solaces himself with the society of the goddess."

As Yule says in a note on this passage (p. 351), Polo does not seem to have quite understood the nature of the institution of the temple dancing-girls, for there was no question of marriage as they were already married—either to the god or to some substitute for a bridegroom such as a sword, dagger or drum. Another point to notice is that Polo describes the girls as "all but naked." This is in strict contradiction to all accounts which came later; in fact travellers have drawn special attention to the fact that the attraction of the covered body was fully realised by the dancers.

At the beginning of the section on Northern India we saw that by 1340 the Sultanate of Delhi was breaking up and that in the South Vijayanagar was already a powerful kingdom. The story of the foundation of this great Hindu monarchy, formed to check the onrush of the Moslem hordes which were sweeping gradually southwards, makes a thrilling page of Indian history. The glories of the magnificent capital have been fully described by many travellers,¹ but a complete history of the kingdom has yet to be written. It was not until 1565 that Vijayanagar was destroyed by the Moslems, and even then the peninsula to the south of Tungabhadra remained unaffected as far as its *dharma* (religion and morality) were concerned. Of the various writers who have described the kingdom the two who give the best description of the social conditions are 'Abdu-r Razzāq, the ambassador from

¹ (a) Nicolo Conti (1420). See his account in *India in the Fifteenth Century*, (Part II, p. 23), R. H. Major : No. 22 of Series I of the Hakluyt Society publications, 1858. (b) 'Abdu-r Razzāq (1443). See Elliot's *History of India*, vol. iv, p. 89 *et seq.*; also first section of Major's work quoted above. (c) Domingos Paes (1522). See *A Forgotten Empire*, R. Sewell, 1900, p. 286 *et seq.* (d) Fernão Nuniz (1587). See *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 291 *et seq.*

Persia, and Domingos Paes, the Portuguese. 'Abdu-r Razzāq explains how the prostitution of the dancing-girls was a great source of revenue to the kingdom ; in fact the entire upkeep of the police (12,000 in number) was paid out of the proceeds of the women. He gives a description of the wealth and splendour of the girls, and says : " After the time of mid-day prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees on which the courtesans seat themselves. Every one is covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments. They are all exceedingly young and beautiful. Each has one or two slave girls standing before her, who invite and allure indulgence and pleasure." We get, however, a better account from Paes. He is speaking of the idols in the temples, and after giving some description of Ganeśa says : " They feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats ; and when he eats, women dance before him who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all the girls born of these women belong to the temple. These women are of loose character, and live in the best streets that are in the city ; it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses. They are very much esteemed, and are classed among those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains ; any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women are allowed even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be." He also makes special mention of their great wealth : " Who can fitly describe to you the great riches these women carry on their persons ? —collars of gold with many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on the feet. The marvel should be otherwise, namely that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth ; but there are women among them who have lands that have been given to them, and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city who is said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos*, and I believe this from what I have seen of them."

It seems obvious from the above accounts that in wealthy and powerful kingdoms, such as Vijayanagar was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, secular and " religious "

prostitution practically coincide.¹ If the diamonds were replaced by cheap and tawdry jewellery made in Birmingham, 'Abdu-r Razzāq's description might almost refer to one of the courtesan streets in the Esbekiya quarter of Cairo or to similar ones in Algiers. He is describing only the "prostitute" part of the girl's business and makes no mention of her duties in the temple. They certainly must have been quite unimportant, and the powers of their "protectors" could in all probability regulate the amount of "service" in the temple. Paes, on the other hand, speaks of their temple duties, but also says that they live in the best streets.

We saw that in Maurya times, when Chandragupta was at the zenith of his power in Pāṭaliputra (*circa* 300 B.C.), a similar state of affairs prevailed. Again in the early eighteenth century the reaction which occurred after the death of the Puritan Aurangzēb caused an enormous laxity of morals, and in consequence the "temple" part of the *dēva-dāsīs* entirely dropped out. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries travellers gave no detailed descriptions of the *dēvi-dāsīs*, and we get only scanty mentions in the various works of travel. The chief of these are Linschoten (1598), De Bry (1599), Gouvea (1606), Bernier (1660), Thévenot (1661), Fryer (1673), Wheeler (1701), a writer in *Lettres Edifiantes* (1702), Orme (1770), Sonnerat (1782), and Moor (1794).²

At the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the accounts become more detailed, the two most reliable of which are those of the Abbé J. A. Dubois and Francis Hamilton (formerly Buchanan). Dubois worked in the Madras Presidency in 1792 and went to Mysore in 1799 to reorganise the Christian community. The outcome of this work was his famous *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, which was translated into English in 1816 direct from the French MS. His remarks on the dancing-girls are interesting. He says³ that at first they were reserved exclusively for the Brāhmans, and proceeds : "And these lewd

¹ For further information on Vijayanagar see S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras University Series, 1919. Also see the various articles, etc., quoted by V. A. Smith in his *Oxford History of India*, 1919, pp. 319, 320.

² Details of these travellers' works with reference to the *dēva-dāsīs* can be found in Hobson-Jobson, Yule and Burnell, 1886. See under "dancing-girl," *dēva-dāsī, bayadère, "nautch-girl," cauchuree*.

³ From the third edition, with notes by Henry K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906, pp. 585-587.

women, who make a public traffic of their charms, are consecrated in a special manner to the worship of the divinities of India. Every temple of any importance has in its service a band of eight, twelve, or more. Their official duties consist in dancing and singing within the temple twice a day, morning and evening, and also at all public ceremonies. The first they execute with sufficient grace, although their attitudes are lascivious and their gestures indecorous. As regards their singing, it is almost always confined to obscene verses describing some licentious episode in the history of their gods. Their duties, however, are not confined to religious ceremonies. Ordinary politeness (and this is one of the characteristic features of Hindu morality) requires that when persons of any distinction make formal visits to each other they must be accompanied by a certain number of these courtesans. To dispense with them would show a want of respect towards the persons visited, whether the visit was one of duty or of politeness. [This custom is certainly not observed at the present day.—Beauchamp.]

“ These women are also present at marriages and other solemn family meetings. All the time which they have to spare in the intervals of the various ceremonies is devoted to infinitely more shameful practices ; and it is not an uncommon thing to see even sacred temples converted into mere brothels. They are brought up in this shameful licentiousness from infancy, and are recruited from various castes, some among them belonging to respectable families. It is not unusual for pregnant women, with the object of obtaining a safe delivery, to make a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to devote the child that they carry in their womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the temple service. They are far from thinking that this infamous vow offends in any way the laws of decency, or is contrary to the duties of motherhood. In fact no shame whatever is attached to parents whose daughters adopt this career.

“ The courtesans are the only women in India who enjoy the privilege of learning to read, to dance, and to sing. A well-bred and respectable woman would for this reason blush to acquire any one of these accomplishments. [In these days female education is slowly extending to all classes, and the prejudice which formerly existed no longer applies to women learning to read and sing, though dancing is still restricted to the professional dancing-girls, and is not considered respectable.—Beauchamp.]

interesting paper before the Anthropological Society, entitled “The Bayadère: or, Dancing Girls of Southern India.”¹ His investigations confirm previous accounts, but owing to advantages gained in his medical capacity he was able to obtain details which the ordinary traveller finds so hard to acquire. He differs from Dubois in saying that the girls dance six times a day, *but in turns*. They never marry, and begin a strenuous three-year course of singing and dancing at the early age of five. “When these girls are attached to pagodas, they receive certain sums as wages, the amount of which is dependent on the worth, sanctity, and popularity of the particular temple which they have joined. The money salary they receive is nominal—seldom exceeding a few annas, and sometimes a rupee or two a month. The chief object in being paid this sum as a salary is to indicate that they are servants of the temple; in addition to this, one or more of them receive a meal a day, consisting merely of a mass of boiled rice rolled into a ball.” He gives full details of their dress. It differs from that described by Thurston as worn by the girls in Central India. Instead of tinsel-covered dress with skirts reaching below the knees and tight satin trousers, Shortt says:

“Their dancing dress comprises usually the short jacket or *choolee*, a pair of string drawers tied at the waist, termed *pyjamas*—both these are generally of silk, and a white or coloured wrapper or *saree*: one end of the *saree* is wound around the waist, and two, three, or more feet, according to the length, is gathered and inserted into the portion encircling the waist, and permitting of a folding fringe or gathering of the cloth in front, and the other end, taken after the usual native fashion over the left shoulder, descends towards the waist, when the end, or *moonthanee*, is opened out and allowed to drop in front, one end of it being inserted in the waist on the side, and the other left free. This portion of the *saree* is usually highly ornamented with golden thread, tinsel, etc.—the free end descends to the middle or lower part of the thighs, the other free end of the *saree* hanging down towards the legs is now got hold of, passed between the legs and fastened to the tie around the waist at the back, and the whole encircled by a gold or silver waist belt. By this mode of dress a fold of the muslin *saree* forms a loop round each leg, and

¹ *Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, 1867-1869, vol. iii, London, 1870, pp. 182-194.* The word *bayadère* is merely a French form of the Portuguese *bailadeira*, from *bailar* = to dance.

descends nearly to the ankles, whilst the gathering hangs in front between the legs free."

They had their own special laws for adoption and inheritance, and were treated with respect and consideration. At one time their ranks were largely increased by kidnapping, but even in Shortt's day this was quite a rare occurrence. This was often done by an aged dancer in order to procure a successor and a maintenance. Once again we see the worst side of a depraved priesthood, for "as soon as a girl attains maturity, her virginity, if not debauched by the pagoda brâhmins, is sold to outsiders in proportion to the wealth of the party seeking the honour, if such it may be termed, after which she leads a continuous course of prostitution—prostituting her person at random, to all but outcasts, for any trifling sum." Details of the musical instruments and dances are given, special attention being drawn to the surprising feats of strength and bodily powers of endurance the girls undergo. "In what is called the *sterria coothoo*, athletic feats are performed, resting their hands on the ground and flinging their feet in the air with great rapidity, and thus twirling round and round successively performing various somersaults ; lying full length on the ground with their hands and feet resting, contorting, twirling, and twisting their bodies in various ways, or whilst resting on the hands and legs, with their backs to the ground and their chest and abdomen turned upwards, drawing the hands and feet as close together as possible ; whilst their bodies are thus arched, they, with their mouths, pick up rupees from the ground. In this arched position, beating time with their hands and feet, they work round and round in a circle. During their performance they join their attendants in the songs that are sung, and regulate the various movements of their bodies to the expressions given vent to in the song." In the remainder of his article Shortt confirms what we have already seen—the girls are far more educated than the married women, their songs are lewd, they get most of their wealth *outside* the temple, they are considered an acquisition in a town and form the chief magnet of Hindu society ; a wife considers it honourable for her husband to patronise them, and, finally, they are more sinned against than sinning. This is obviously true, for what chance can a child of five have when everything is arranged for her—probably before her birth ! Owing to the wise guidance of British rule female education and enlightenment have made

great strides since 1868 and we are likely to hear less and less of the *dēva-dāsīs*. Secular prostitution always has existed and always will exist, for the simple reason that, where there is a certain and constant demand, so also is there an equally certain and constant supply.

We have now to consider a class of women who, although being sacred prostitutes, are hardly ever dancing-girls. Their existence is due to circumstance alone. Among women of the lower Sūdra castes of Southern India, when there is no son to perform the obsequies of the parents, it is customary to endow a daughter with masculine privileges by dedicating her to a deity. Such a woman is known by the name of *basivi*. As is often the custom among *dēva-dāsīs*, girls are frequently dedicated as *basivis* by promise before their birth, or owing to a vow during illness.

Detailed investigations on the *basivis* have been carried out by Mr Fawcett¹ in the western part of the Bellary district of Madras, and in the portions of Dharwar and Mysore which adjoin it. Although variations of the dedication ceremony occur in different localities, the following description by Mr Fawcett can be taken as generally representative.

After the girl has been conducted with music to the temple by her parents, she is dressed in new clothes, usually white, and two seers of rice, five dates, five cocoanuts, five² betel leaves, and the same number of betel nuts, also turmeric³ and plantains and areca nuts, a gold *tāli*, a silver bangle, and two silver toe-rings are borne in a tray or basket. On arrival at the temple reverence is made to the idol, and, if he is present,

¹ "Basivis: Women who through Dedication to a Deity assume Masculine Privileges," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. ii, 1892, pp. 322-345. This is followed by a note on the same subject by Dr W. Dymock (pp. 345, 346) and an appendix (pp. 346-353).

² Five is a mystical number. It consists of 2 + 3, the first even and first odd numbers—*i.e.* if unity is God alone, 2 = diversity, while 3 = 1 + 2 = unity and diversity. Thus the two principles of nature are represented.

Mankind has five senses. The Brāhmans worship the five products of the cow. Siva has five aspects. The Dravidians recognise five divine foods, the Assamese five essentials for worship, and the Avestan doctrine five divisions of human personality. Five wards off the evil eye among the Mohammedans, and, being considered lucky by the Romans, entered into their wedding ceremonies.

³ This plant, which is used in India as a substitute for saffron and other yellow dyes, always plays an important part in marriage ceremonies—not only in India, but also in ancient Greece. It has a distinct erotic significance and has magical properties ascribed to it. See the paper by Dr W. Dymock on "The Use of Turmeric in Hindoo Ceremonial" in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, p. 441 *et seq.* of the volume quoted in note 1 above.

to the *guru*, or high priest, and he, as the officiating priest, receives a fee and the tray or basket of things, and the ceremony is begun. If the *guru* is present he orders the priest and disciples who may be present "to bring the god to the girl," and they proceed with the ceremony. She is conducted to that part of the temple where such ceremonies are generally performed, usually in front of the idol, and is made to sit on a black *cambly*, or country-made blanket (never on a white one), facing east, right knee raised and right elbow resting on it, head bent and covered. In front of her is spread some rice, on which are placed the kernels of five cocoanuts, one at each corner and one in the centre, and similarly five betel nuts, five pieces of turmeric, five dried dates, and five duddus and a tankam in a bran vessel (a duddu=1 anna 8 pies, and a tankam=5 annas 4 pies). *Kankanam*, a yellow thread, such as is used in Hindu marriages and once to be used in *satis*, to which a betel leaf is fastened, is tied on her right wrist by the senior *basivi* present. A marriage song is then sung by the *basivi* and married women (not widows), who throw yellow rice over the girl. They put the bangle on her right wrist, and tie the *tāli*, on which is depicted the *irāman* of Vishnu, and which is fastened to a necklace of black beads, round her neck, and they make the girl put on the toe-rings. These marriage tokens, which are worn by Hindu women until their husbands' death, are worn by the *basivi* until her own death. She is given, by way of insignia, a cane about three feet long, as a wand, carried in the right hand, and a *gopālam*, or begging basket, slung on the left arm. She is then branded with a heated brass instrument, with a *chakra* on the right shoulder, in front, similarly on the left shoulder with a *shenk* (*chank*) and over the right breast with a *chakra*. As well known, these are the emblems of Vishnu. The third mark, over the breast, is never done if there is any suspicion the girl is not a virgin. Sometimes girls are dedicated after maturity. It may be mentioned that, if he is present, the *guru* heats the instruments or holds them a moment ere they are used. After being branded, the girl's forehead is marked with *kunkam*, a red powder commonly used in feminine adornment. A seer and a quarter of rice, two dried cocoanuts minus the shells, betel leaves, a few areca nuts, five pieces of turmeric and five dates are then tied in her cloth, in front, below the waist, and she is made to rise, taken thrice round the temple and into the god's sanctuary, where she prostrates herself before the image.

Alms are distributed, certain sums, determined by the girl's parents, are given to the officiating priest and to the *guru*, and the ceremony is concluded by the priest whispering a *mantram* in the girl's ear. She is told to be good and think of god "Rāma Krishṇa," "Govind." For the next five weeks she is required to beg in the village, carrying her insignia and shouting "Rām! Rām!" "Govind!" as she approaches each house. After this there is the *hemm* ceremony to mark the girl's puberty, which corresponds with the *garbhādhāna* ceremony of the Hindus when the bride is of an age for the fulfilment of marriage. An auspicious day is chosen and fixed on if the parents of the girl are not needy; if they are, they wait until they can find the money or some man who, for the sake of securing the girl, will bear the expenses. The girl is given an oil-bath during the day, and in the evening the initiatory ceremony is repeated, with some additions. A sword with a lime stuck on its point is placed upright beside the novice, and it is held in her right hand. It represents the bridegroom, who in the corresponding ceremony of the Hindu marriage sits on the bride's right. If the *basivi* happens to be a dancing-girl the object representing the bridegroom is a drum, and the girl's insignia consists of a drum and bells. A tray, on which is a *kalasyam* and a lamp, is then produced and moved thrice in front of the girl from right to left. She rises and, carrying the sword in her right hand, places it in the god's sanctuary. The ceremony is concluded between nine and ten P.M. The actual religious duties of a *basivi* are few. They are entirely confined to the temple of her dedication, and consist of fasting on Saturdays, attending the temple for worship, and accompanying processions with her insignia during festivals. Their superior position over married women is due to their bearing the god's mark on their bodies, and by having no widowhood.

Among the Kakatias, a sect of weavers in Conjeeveram (and perhaps the custom obtains elsewhere), the eldest daughter is always dedicated to a deity, but she does not thereby attain any superior right to property. She is taken to a temple, with rice, cocoanuts, sugar, etc., a plantain leaf is placed on the ground, and on it some raw rice, and on that a brass vessel containing water; mango leaves and *darbha* grass are put into the vessel, a cocoanut and some flowers are placed on the top of it, and the water is purified by *mantrams*, and the leaves, grass and water are lightly thrown over the

girl. A thread is then tied to her left wrist, and she swallows a pill of the five products of the cow for purification. She is then branded with a *chakra* on the right shoulder and with a *shenk* or *chank* on the left, and her forehead is marked with the god's *irānam*; the priest prays for her, and she distributes alms and presents. A *tāli*, which has been lying at the god's feet, is then placed on her neck by a senior dancing-girl (there are no *basivis* there), to whom she makes obeisance. She is given *tridham* to drink, a piece of cloth is tied on her head, she is decked with flowers and crowned with the god's cap or mitre, she offers worship through the priest, and is taken home with music. At night she comes to the temple and dances before the idol with bells on her feet. She is not a vestal, and she may ply her music; but she is the god's, and if not dedicated would soon be cut off from the living; so for her own benefit, and chiefly for the benefit of her family, she is dedicated. To avoid legal complications the public ceremony takes place after puberty.

In Mysore the castes among which the dedication of *basivis* is common are the Killēkyātas, Madiga, Dombar, Vadda, Beda, Kuruba and Golla. Details will be found in the pamphlets on these castes by H. V. Nanjundayya.¹ There is a certain amount of variation in ceremonies, but the general idea is the same in all cases. In his long article on the *dēva-dāsīs* Thurston² gives interesting samples of petitions presented to a European magistrate or superintendent of police by girls or mothers of girls who are about to become *basivis*. One reads as follows:—

“I have got two daughters, aged fifteen and twelve respectively. As I have no male issues, I have got to necessarily celebrate [sic] the ceremony in the temple in connection with the tying of the goddess's *tāli* to my two daughters under the orders of the *guru*, in accordance with the customs of my caste. I therefore submit this petition for fear that the authorities may raise any objection (under the Age of Consent Act). I therefore request that the Honourable Court may be pleased to give permission to the tying of the *tāli* to my daughters.”

¹ In the order given they form Nos. 22, 17, 13, 11, 3, 1 and 20 of a series of short pamphlets issued by the Ethnographical Survey of Mysore, Bangalore, 1906-1911.

² *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, by Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari, Madras, 1909, vol. ii, pp. 125-153. See also *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, by Thurston, Madras, 1906, pp. 35-41.

The most recent account of the *dēva-dāsīs* is that by Thurston already mentioned. It is drawn mainly from articles in the census reports and gazetteers. Many of the customs have already been discussed in this appendix. There are, however, several important points in the Madras Census Reports for 1901, prepared by Mr Francis, which deserve including.

The profession is not now held in the consideration it once enjoyed. . . . It is one of the many inconsistencies of the Hindu religion that, though their profession is repeatedly and vehemently condemned by the *śāstras*, it has always received the countenance of the Church. . . . At the present day they form a regular caste, having its own laws of inheritance, its customs and rules of etiquette, and its own *panchāyats* (councils) to see that all these are followed, and thus hold a position which is perhaps without a parallel in any other country. Dancing-girls, dedicated to the usual profession of the caste, are formally married in a temple to a sword or a god, the *tāli* (marriage badge) being tied round their necks by some men of their caste. It was a standing puzzle to the census-enumerators whether such women should be entered as married in the column referring to civil condition.

Among the *dāsīs*, sons and daughters inherit equally, contrary to ordinary Hindu usage. Some of the sons remain in the caste, and live by playing music for the women to dance to, and accompaniments to their songs, or by teaching singing and dancing to the younger girls, and music to the boys. These are called *nattuvār*. Others marry some girl of the caste who is too plain to be likely to be a success in the profession, and drift out of the community. Some of these affix to their names the terms *pillai* and *mudali*, which are the usual titles of the two castes (*vellāla* and *kaikōla*) from which most of the *dāsīs* are recruited, and try to live down the stigma attaching to their birth. Others join the *mēlakkārar*, or professional musicians. Cases have occurred in which wealthy sons of dancing-women have been allowed to marry girls of respectable parentage of other castes, but they are very rare. The daughters of the caste, who are brought up to follow the caste profession, are carefully taught dancing, singing, the art of dressing well, and the *ars amoris*, and their success in keeping up their clientèle is largely due to the contrast which they thus present to the ordinary Hindu housewife, whose ideas are bounded by the day's dinner and the babies.

The dancing-girl castes and their allies, the *mēlakkārar*, are now practically the sole repository of Indian music, the system of which is probably one of the oldest in the world. Besides them and the Brāhmans few study the subject. . . .

There are two divisions among the *dāsīs*, called *valangai* (right-hand) and *idangai* (left-hand). The chief distinction between them is that the former will have nothing to do with the *kammālar* (artisans) or any other of the left-hand castes, or play or sing in their houses. The latter division is not so particular, and its members are consequently sometimes known as the *kammāla dāsīs*. Neither division, however, is allowed to have any dealings with men of the lowest castes, and violation of this rule of etiquette is tried by a *panchāyat* of the caste, and visited with excommunication. . . .

Among the *kaikōlan* musicians of Coimbatore at least one girl in every family should be set apart for the temple service, and she is instructed in music and dancing. At the *tāli*-tying ceremony she is decorated with jewels and made to stand on a heap of paddy (unhusked rice). A folded cloth is held before her by two *dāsīs*, who also stand on heaps of paddy. The girl catches hold of the cloth, and her dancing-master, who is seated behind her, grasping her legs, moves them up and down in time with the music which is played. In the evening she is taken, astride a pony, to the temple, where a new cloth for the idol, the *tāli*, and other articles required for doing *pūjā* (worship) have been got ready. The girl is seated facing the idol, and the officiating Brāhman gives the sandal and flowers to her, and ties the *tāli*, which has been lying at the feet of the idol, round her neck. The *tāli* consists of a golden disc and black beads. She continues to learn music and dancing, and eventually goes through the form of a nuptial ceremony. The relations are invited on an auspicious day, and the maternal uncle, or his representative, ties a golden band on the girl's forehead, and, carrying her, places her on a plank before the assembled guests. A Brāhman priest recites *mantrams* (prayers), and prepares the sacred fire (*hōmam*). For the actual nuptials a rich Brāhman, if possible, or, if not, a Brāhman of more lowly status, is invited. A Brāhman is called in, as he is next in importance to, and the representative of, the idol. As a *dāsī* can never become a widow, the beads in her *tāli* are considered to bring good luck to women who wear them. And some people send the *tāli* required for a marriage to a *dāsī*, who prepares the

string for it, and attaches to it black beads from her own *tāli*. A *dāsī* is also deputed to walk at the head of Hindu marriage-processions. Married women do not like to do this, as they are not proof against evil omens, which the procession may meet. And it is believed that *dāsīs*, to whom widowhood is unknown, possess the power of warding off the effects of inauspicious omens. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that *dāsīs* are not at the present day so much patronised at Hindu marriages as in olden times. Much is due in this direction to the progress of enlightened ideas, which have of late been strongly put forward by Hindu social reformers. When a *kaikōlan dāsī* dies, her body is covered with a new cloth removed from the idol, and flowers are supplied from the temple to which she belonged. No *pūjā* is performed in the temple till the corpse is disposed of, as the idol, being her husband, has to observe pollution.

In Travancore the institution of the *dēva-dāsīs* affords an interesting comparison with that existing in other parts of India. The following account is taken from data collected by Mr N. S. Aiyer.

While the *dāsīs* of Kartikappalli, Ambalapuzha and Shertallay belonged originally to the Konkan coast, those of Shenkottah belonged to the Pāndiyan country. But the South Travancore *dāsīs* are an indigenous class. The female members of the caste are, besides being known by the ordinary name of *tēvadiyāl* and *dāsī*, both meaning "servant of god," called *kudikkar*, meaning "those belonging to the house" (*i.e.* given rent free by the Sirkar), and *pendukul*, or women, the former of these designations being more popular than the latter. Males are called *tēvadiyan*, though many prefer to be known as *Nanchināt Vellālas*. Males, like these *Vellālas*, take the title of *Pillai*. In ancient days *dēva-dāsīs* who became experts in singing and dancing received the title of *Rāyar* (king), which appears to have been last conferred in A.D. 1847. The South Travancore *dāsīs* neither interdine nor intermarry with the dancing-girls of the Tamil-speaking districts. They adopt girls only from a particular division of the *Nāyars*, the *Tamil Padam*, and dance only in temples. Unlike their sisters outside Travancore, they do not accept private engagements in houses on the occasion of marriage. The males, in a few houses, marry the *Tamil Padam* and *Padamangalam Nāyars*, while some *Padamangalam Nāyars* and *Nanchināt Vellālas* in their turn take their women as wives.

When a dancing-woman becomes too old or diseased, and thus unable to perform her usual temple duties, she applies to the temple authorities for permission to remove her ear-pendants (*tōdu*). The ceremony takes place at the palace of the Mahārāja. At the appointed spot the officers concerned assemble, and the woman, seated on a wooden plank, proceeds to unhook the pendants, and places them, with a *nazar* (gift) of twelve *panams* (coins), on the plank. Directly after this she turns about, and walks away without casting a second glance at the ear-ornaments which have been laid down. She becomes immediately a *taikkizhavi*, or old mother, and is supposed to lead a life of retirement and resignation. By way of distinction, a *dāsī* in active service is referred to as *ātum-pātram*. Though the ear-ornaments are at once returned to her from the palace, the woman is never again permitted to put them on, but only to wear the *pampadam*, or antiquated ear-ornament of Tamil Sūdra women. Her temple wages undergo a slight reduction, consequent on her proved incapacity.

In some temples, as at Kēralapuram, there are two divisions of dancing-girls, one known as the *muzakkudi*, to attend to the daily routine, the other as the *chirappukudi*, to serve on special occasions. The special duties that may be required of the South Travancore *dāsīs* are : (1) to attend the two Utsavas at Padmanābhaswāmi's temple, and the Dusserah at the capital ; (2) to meet and escort members of the royal family at their respective village limits ; (3) to undertake the prescribed fasts for the *apamārga* ceremony in connection with the annual festival of the temple. On these days strict continence is enjoined, and they are fed at the temple, and allowed only one meal a day.

The principal deities of the dancing-girls are those to whom the temples, in which they are employed, are dedicated. They observe the new and full moon days, and the last Friday of every month, as important. The Onam, Sivarātri, Tai-Pongal, Dipāvali and Chitrapūrnami are the best recognised religious festivals. Minor deities, such as Bhadrakālī, Yakshi and Gandharva are worshipped by the figure of a trident or sword being drawn on the wall of the house, to which food and sweetmeats are offered on Fridays. The priests on these occasions are *ōchchans*. There are no recognised headmen in the caste. The services of Brāhmans are resorted to for the purpose of purification, of *nampiyans* and

Saiva Vellālas for the performance of funeral rites, and of *gurus* on occasions of marriage and for the final ceremonies on the sixteenth day after death.

Girls belonging to this caste may either be dedicated to temple service or married to a male member of the caste. No woman can be dedicated to the temple after she has reached puberty. On the occasion of marriage a sum of from fifty to a hundred and fifty rupees is given to the bride's house, not as a bride-price, but for defraying the marriage expenses. There is a preliminary ceremony of betrothal, and the marriage is celebrated at an auspicious hour. The *guru* recites a few hymns, and the ceremonies, which include the tying of the *tāli*, continue for four days. The couple commence joint life on the sixteenth day after the girl has reached puberty. It is easy enough to get a divorce, as this merely depends upon the will of one of the two parties, and the woman becomes free to receive clothes from another person in token of her having entered into a fresh matrimonial alliance.

All applications for the presentation of a girl to the temple are made to the temple authorities by the senior dancing-girl of the temple, the girl to be presented being in all cases from six to eight years of age. If she is closely related to the applicant no inquiries regarding her status and claim need be made. In all other cases formal investigations are instituted, and the records taken are submitted to the chief revenue officer of the division for orders. Some paddy (rice) and five *panams* are given to the family from the temple funds towards the expenses of the ceremony. The practice at the Suchindram temple is to convene, on an auspicious day, a *yōga*, or meeting, composed of the Valiya Śrī-kāriyakkār, the Yogattil Potti, the Vattappalli Muttatu, and others, at which the preliminaries are arranged. The girl bathes, and goes to the temple on the morning of the selected day with two new cloths, betel leaves and nuts. The temple priest places the cloths and the *tāli* at the feet of the image and sets apart one for the divine use. The *tāli* consists of a triangular *bottu*, bearing the image of Ganeśa, with a gold bead on either side. Taking the remaining cloth and the *tāli*, and sitting close to the girl, the priest, facing to the north, proceeds to officiate. The girl sits, facing the deity, in the inner sanctuary. The priest kindles the fire, and performs all the marriage ceremonies, following the custom of the Tirukkalyānam festival,

when Siva is represented as marrying Pārvatī. He then teaches the girl the Panchākshara hymn if the temple is Saivite, and Ashtākshara if it is Vaishṇavite, presents her with the cloth, and ties the *tāli* round her neck. The *nattuvan*, or dancing-master, instructs her for the first time in his art, and a quantity of raw rice is given to her by the temple authorities. The girl, thus married, is taken to her house, where the marriage festivities are celebrated for two or three days. As in Brāhmanical marriages, the rolling of a cocoanut to and fro is gone through, the temple priest or an elderly *dāsi*, dressed in male attire, acting the part of the bridegroom. The girl is taken in procession through the streets.

The birth of male children is not made an occasion for rejoicing, and, as the proverb goes, the lamp on these occasions is only dimly lighted. Inheritance is in the female line, and women are the absolute owners of all property earned. When a dancing-girl dies some paddy and five *panams* are given to the temple to which she was attached, to defray the funeral expenses. The temple priest gives a garland, and a quantity of ashes for decorating the corpse. After this a *nampiyan*, an *ōchchan*, some *Vellāla* headmen and a *kudikkāri*, having no pollution, assemble at the house of the deceased. The *nampiyan* consecrates a pot of water with prayers, the *ōchchan* plays on his musical instrument, and the *Vellālas* and *kudikkāri* powder the turmeric to be smeared over the corpse. In the case of temple devotees, their dead bodies must be bathed with this substance by the priest, after which alone the funeral ceremonies may proceed. The *kartā* (chief mourner), who is the nearest male relative, has to get his whole head shaved. When a temple priest dies, though he is a Brāhman, the dancing-girl on whom he has performed the vicarious marriage rite has to go to his death-bed and prepare the turmeric powder to be dusted over his corpse. The anniversary of the death of the mother and maternal uncle are invariably observed.

The adoption of a dancing-girl is a lengthy ceremony. The application to the temple authorities takes the form of a request that the girl to be adopted may be made heir to both *kudi* and *pati*—that is, to the house and temple service of the person adopting. The sanction of the authorities having been obtained, all concerned meet at the house of the person who is adopting, a document is executed, and a ceremony, of the nature of the Jātakarma, performed. The girl then goes

through the marriage-rite, and is handed over to the charge of the music-teacher to be regularly trained in her profession.

In concluding his article, Thurston gives a number of cases about the initiation, laws of inheritance, etc., which have been argued in the Madras High Court, besides a selection of current proverbs relating to dancing-girls. These will be found on pp. 145-153 of the above-mentioned article.

We have now become acquainted with all the important data on the subject under discussion so far as India is concerned.

In summarising we notice the following points :—

In Vedic times reliable evidence is insufficient to enable us to form any definite conclusion as to the possibility of distinct connection between religion and prostitution.

Although the law-books regarded the latter with disfavour, and in the Buddhist age Brāhmans were not even allowed to hear music or witness dances owing to their inseparable connection with prostitution, yet it appears that the letter of the law was not carried out in any great strictness. This is especially evident when in the collection of the birth-stories of Buddha (*the Jātakas*) we read of the high esteem in which such women were held, and of the important positions—sometimes even in the king's palace—which they occupied.

It is quite a feasible suggestion that this State approval of prostitutes may have been, even at this early date, largely due to their taking part (however small) in the ritual at the neighbouring temples. Direct historical evidence of the privileges which these women enjoyed is afforded by Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (*circa* 300 B.C.), where we learn that, although under strict regulations, the prostitutes often acquired great position and wealth.

In the early Christian era we still find no direct reference to the *dēva-dāsī*, but literary evidence distinctly refers to dancing as one of the chief accomplishments of the courtesan. After about the twelfth century our evidence becomes more definite and geographical.

In the time of Akbar rules were issued relating to the superintendence of the prostitute dancing-girls, and, as the oppression of the Mohammedans increased, so, in inverse ratio, did the "religious" element in the institution of the *dēva-dāsīs* become less and less. After the death of the Puritan Aurangzēb the general morality sank to a very low

level, and prostitution, now entirely secular, reached huge dimensions.

In modern days the prostitute dancing-castes divide themselves into two branches, according as to whether they are Hindus or Mohammedans. Only one sub-caste, the *rāj-kanyā*, has any definite connection with the temples. Further evidence shows that there is no system of *dēva-dāsīs* as there is in the South, which state of things is due mainly to the Mohammedan conquest in earlier days.

As we proceed southwards direct references to the *dēva-dāsīs* become more common. In Central India we find the system fully developed at Jagannātha, in Orissa, where the sincerity of the worshippers was as undoubted as the viciousness of the priesthood. Thus there existed side by side religion and prostitution. As the latter was recognised and approved by both Church and State, its acceptance by the worshippers of Vishṇu, who looked to the Brāhmaṇ priests for guidance, can be readily understood.

We now come across accounts of the so-called marriage ceremonies of the *dēva-dāsīs* which attach to them a certain amount of envy, owing to the fact that, as they are married to a god, or an emblem of a divine husband, they can never become widows. This fact and the stamping of the bodies of the women with the symbols of the gods are the chief reasons which cause the *dēva-dāsī* to be approved by the ordinary married women and resorted to by their husbands.

Although British rule has done much to suppress the element of vice in the institution of the *dēva-dāsīs*, it is much too deeply rooted to extirpate. We find the ritual still prevalent in parts of Central India and still more so in the South.

It is here that our accounts are much fuller and reliable, and even as early as A.D. 985 we find the system flourishing under the Chōla monarchs. Mediæval travellers confirm these accounts.

It seems clear, however, that when the wealth and splendour of a kingdom reached its height, as in the case of Vijayanagar in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the "service" of the *dēva-dāsī* became almost entirely confined to the streets, while her temple duties were practically non-existent.

Farther south the religious observances had been more closely maintained, and travellers of the seventeenth, eigh-

teenth and nineteenth centuries found the temple-women taking a prominent part at all the chief temples. It is obvious to see from the more detailed accounts that here we have the fuller and more developed form of the system of sacred prostitution as compared with what we find farther north.

The privileges of dedicating a girl to the deity are fully realised by the lower Śūdra castes and, as we see by the strange system of *basivis*, they can actually perform the obsequies of the parents in the place of the son. As the duty to the dead is of such great importance to the Hindu, it can at once be realised that not only are the dedicated prostitutes regarded with favour, but in many cases are entrusted with the performing of the most sacred duties, thus enabling their parents to die in peace.

On the other hand, the status of the *dēva-dāsī* is not held in the high consideration it once was, and modern education in India has done much to open the eyes of a more enlightened generation.

Surveying the total evidence here collected, the reader naturally asks himself how it was that the sacred and profane became thus united ; or, in other words, what was the real origin of "sacred" prostitution. Numerous theories exist as to the true explanation of this strange custom, but none is entirely satisfactory. It will, however, help us in our inquiry to list the chief :

1. It is a substitute for human sacrifice, being an offering to the deity in order to appease him or to secure blessings for the country in question and its inhabitants.

2. It is an expiation for individual marriage as a temporary recognition of pre-existing communal marriage.

3. It springs from the custom of providing sexual hospitality for strangers ; and if such hospitality be offered by the mortal wife of a deity, good would be bound to result.

4. It is a rite to ensure the fruitfulness of the ground and the increase of man and beast on the principle of homœopathic magic.

5. It arises from the secular and precautionary practice of destroying a bride's virginity by someone other than the bridegroom.

6. It merely represents the licentious worship of a people, subservient to a degraded and vicious priesthood.

7. It is a part of the phallic worship which existed in India from early Dravidian times.

All the above theories have been put forward from time to time by men whose opinions have been, or are, respected.

The evidence already laid before the reader shows clearly that most of them are quite insufficient to account for the whole institution of *dēva-dāsīs*, while others, such as Nos. 5 and 6, have already been disproved. No. 4, supported by Frazer and many other scholars, seems to be feasible, although it certainly does not account for everything.

The above theories have been presented by men who made comparisons, and I feel that the fact is often overlooked that the origin of a certain custom in one part of the world may not necessarily be the same as that of a similar custom in another part of the world.

In speaking of sacred prostitution in Western Asia Frazer¹ says : "The true parallel to these customs is the sacred prostitution which is carried on to this day by dedicated women in India and Africa." This is a sweeping statement to make, especially when we bear in mind how scanty is our knowledge of the early Semitic pantheon, the differences of opinion held by some of our greatest Babylonian scholars, and the lack of reliable historic data of the early Vedic period in India.

We must also remember that the religion, ethics and philosophy of India have been ever changing, and nothing is more inapplicable than to speak of the "changeless East" in this respect.

Our knowledge of the early Dravidian religion of India before it was "taken over" by the Aryan invaders is so slight that it is impossible to make any definite statement with regard to the *origin* of any particular custom of ritual or religious observance.

In order, however, to enable readers to make their own deductions and to follow up any branch of the subject, I shall give a few notes on sacred prostitution in countries other than India.

Religious prostitution in Western Asia is first mentioned in some of the earliest records of Babylonia, and has also been traced in Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, Egypt, Greece and Rome. Similar cults also occur in the Far East, Central America, West Africa and other localities to be mentioned later.

The subject is a very extensive one, upon which volumes could be written. The following remarks, therefore, merely

¹ *Golden Bough, Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, vol. i, p. 61.

deal with it in a very general manner. Care, however, has been taken to provide ample references, so that the student can pursue the subject to any length.

As Mesopotamia was the original home of sacred prostitution, I shall deal with the Babylonian evidence more fully than with that from other localities outside India, about which the classical writers of Rome and Greece have already made us sufficiently familiar.

Babylonia

In discussing the “sacred servants,” or *hierodouloi*, in ancient Babylonia we can conveniently divide the subject under the two following headings :—

1. The Code of Hammurabi.
2. The Epic of Gilgamesh.

1. About 2090 B.C., during the first dynasty of Babylon (which corresponds to the twelfth Egyptian dynasty), Hammurabi set up in the temple of Marduk, the city god, at Babylon, a code of laws embodying the decisions of a long series of judges who were already acquainted with a system of laws probably of Sumerian origin. Babylonian law ran in the name of God, and the temple was naturally a very large factor in the life of the people. It formed an intimate connection between their god and themselves, and their ritual tended to emphasise this fact.

Accordingly their god would dine with them at sacrificial feasts, he would intermarry with them, and would be appealed to as an adviser and helper in times of danger or difficulty. The temple was, moreover, the house of the god and thus was the outward sign of human relations with divine powers. It was also the centre of the country's wealth, the equivalent of the modern bank. Its wealth was derived partly from the

land it owned, which was either leased out or used for cattle-breeding, and partly from dues of various kinds.

The Code of Hammurabi¹ affected the whole realm, and the laws therein applied to every temple, no matter what god or goddess happened to be locally enshrined. Although Marduk was worshipped at Babylon, at Larsa or Sippar it was Shamash, at Erech it was Innini or Ishtar the mother-goddess, in Ur it was Nannar the moon-god, and so on. Each temple had a staff, varying with its size, which in most cases included both male and female *hierodouloi* in its service.

The priestesses and temple women formed several distinct classes which need some detailed description.

The priestesses were of two kinds, the *entu* (*Nin-An*) and the *nañitu* (*Sal-Me*). Both classes were held in respect, and the *entu* (brides of the god) were looked upon as the highest class in the land. It is not clear if they married mortal husbands or not, anyway no mention of a father is made. The *nañitu* were much more numerous and were allowed to marry, but were not expected to bear children, a maid being supplied for this purpose. Both the *entu* and the *nañitu* were wealthy and owned property.

They could either live in the *gagum* (cloister) adjoining the temple or in their own houses. If they chose the latter they were forbidden, on pain of being burned alive, to own or enter a wine-shop, so great was the prestige the class had to maintain.

A study of the contract-literature of the period seems to make it clear that just as an ordinary well-to-do citizen could have a chief wife and many inferior ones as well as concubines, so also the god would have his chief wife (*entu*), his many inferior ones (*nañitu*) and his concubines (*zikru*).

This latter class of consecrated women known as *zikru* or *zermashitu* came immediately after the two varieties of priestesses already mentioned. They, too, were well-to-do and held in respect. The *zikru* or "vowed" woman is not mentioned in religious literature, nor is *zermashitu* (seed-purifying). Both of these temple harlots could marry and bear children. The *zikru* appears to be slightly superior to the *zermashitu* owing to the fact that in the laws relating to the

¹ For further details of the Code see the articles on Babylonian law by C. H. W. Johns in *Ency. Brit.*, vol. iii, p. 115 *et seq.*, and *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. vii, p. 817 *et seq.* Special reference should be made to J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909, and finally the Bibliography of p. 651 of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, 1923.

inheritance of property it is stated that if the father of a *zikru* died and nothing was left her in his will she was to inherit equally with her brothers, but if she was a *zermashitu* or a *kadishtu* (to be discussed shortly) she received only one-third of a brother's share.

The *kadishtu*, although classed with the *zermashitu* as regards the inheriting of property, clearly occupied a subordinate position. Her name means "sacred woman" and is the same as the Biblical *kēdēshāh* (Deut. xxiii, 18). There is no record of her marriage, and her speciality, outside her temple duties, was suckling the children of Babylonian ladies, for which service she received payment, together with a clay tablet recording the contract. Several examples of such tablets can be seen in the British Museum.¹

Apart from the various temple women already mentioned there were others who were more especially connected with the worship of Ishtar. In the time of Hammurabi the centre of this cult was at Erech, although she had a shrine in the temple of Marduk in Babylon, where, under the name of Sarpanit, she appears in later texts as the wife of Marduk. It is undoubtedly Sarpanit to whom Herodotus refers in his well-known account of the enforced temporary prostitution of every Babylonian woman (i, 199).

In order to understand the cult of the great mother-goddess throughout Western Asia it is necessary to say a few words on the origin of Ishtar. Recent evidence² seems to show that Ishtar was not of Semitic Babylonian or even of Sumerian creation, but was a primitive Semitic divinity personifying the force of nature which showed itself in the giving and taking of life. The various functions of Sumerian local goddesses became by absorption merely fresh attributes of Ishtar, the original name sometimes remaining.

¹ See D. G. Lyon, "The Consecrated Women of the Hammurabi Code," in *Studies in the History of Religions, presented to C. H. Toy*, New York, 1912, pp. 341-360. Both Lyon and Johns (*Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, vol. xix, 1902, pp. 96-107) tried to show that the temple women were chaste. This view has, however, been proved untenable by G. A. Barton (art. "Hierodouloii," *Hastings' Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. vi, p. 672 *et seq.*) and D. D. Luckenbill ("The Temple Women of the Code of Hammurabi," in *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, vol. xxxiv, 1917, pp. 1-12).

I am indebted to Mr R. Campbell Thomson for drawing my attention to the above papers, and to his own excellent chapter on "The Golden Age of Hammurabi" in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, 1923, pp. 494-551, which has been of the greatest help in this appendix.

² See note on page 270.

Thus we find different cities sacred to different goddesses which are all certain aspects of Ishtar, the great mother-goddess. It follows, therefore, that the characteristics of Ishtar were numerous, for besides being connected with creation of animal and vegetable life and the goddess of sexual love, marriage and maternity, she was also the storm and war goddess and the destroyer of life. It is interesting to compare similar attributes in the male-female (*Ardha-nārīśvara*) form of Siva, who was both a creator and a destroyer.

In Erech Ishtar was known as Innini, Innanna or Nanā, and as many hymns originally addressed to Innini are appropriated by Ishtar, she bears, among others, the titles of "Queen of Eanna," "Queen of the land of Erech."¹ Her cult extended to all cities of importance in Babylonia and Assyria, and it is in her capacity as goddess of sexual love that she concerns us here.

Her character is clearly represented in numerous hymns, where she is described as "the languid-eyed," "goddess of desire," "goddess of sighing," and refers to herself as "a loving courtesan" and "temple-harlot." In one hymn she says : "I turn the male to the female, I turn the female to the male, I am she who adorneth the male for the female, I am she who adorneth the female for the male."² In art she is depicted as naked with her sexual features emphasised, or as lifting her robe to disclose her charms.³ Several statues represent her as offering her breasts ; some have been found outside Babylonia — e.g. in Northern Syria and Carchemish.⁴

The names given to the licentious ministrants at the Ishtar temple at Erech were *kizrēti* (harlot), *shamkhāti* (joy-maiden), and *kharimāti* (devoted one). If they differed from the *zermashitu* and *kadishtu* it is impossible to say exactly what the difference was. They are thus described in the *Legend of Girra* :

"Of Erech, home of Anu and of Ishtar,
The town of harlots, strumpets and hctæræ,
Whose (hire) men pay Ishtar, and they yield their hand."

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxxi, p. 60.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. xxxi, pp. 22, 34.

³ W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, pp. 161 *et seq.*, 296, 380, 387.

⁴ D. G. Hogarth, *Liverpool Ann. Arch.*, ii, 1909, p. 170, fig. 1.

We will now pass on to the Epic of Gilgamesh, where further data can be obtained.

2. The Epic of Gilgamesh is one of the most important literary products of Babylonia, and sheds considerable light on the cult of Ishtar. It consists of a number of myths of different ages—some dating back to 2000 B.C. or even earlier—which have all been gathered round the name of Gilgamesh, an early Sumerian ruler of about 4500 B.C.

The Epic is known to us chiefly from a collection of twelve sets of fragments found in the library of Assur-bani-pal, King of Assyria (668-626 B.C.). In the first tablet the goddess Aruru creates a kind of “wild man of the woods,” by name Engidu,¹ to act as a rival to Gilgamesh, whose power and tyranny had begun to be a burden to the people. In order to get Engidu away from his desert home and his beasts, a *shamkhāt* from Ishtar’s temple is taken to him. “This woman, when they approached Engidu, opened wide her garments, exposing her charms, yielded herself to his embrace, and for six days and seven nights gratified his desire, until he was won from his wild life.”² In the second tablet the harlot takes him back to Erech, where she clothes and generally looks after him.

He finally meets Gilgamesh, and the next three tablets relate their friendship, quarrels and adventures. The sixth tablet is especially interesting, for here we get a reference to the Ishtar-Tammuz myth which is so inseparable from the great mother-goddess.

After overcoming an enemy named Khumbaba the two friends returned to Erech in triumph. Ishtar asks Gilgamesh to be her husband and promises him all manner of riches and power. He refuses, reminding her of the numerous lovers she has had in the past and what ill luck befell them. In particular he refers to Tammuz, the lover of her youth, whose death she bewails every year. This is, of course, the youthful solar God of the Springtime, who was wooed by the Goddess of Fertility, Ishtar. Each year that Tammuz died Ishtar went to Hades (Sheol) in search of him. The myth has been detailed by many scholars and does not in itself concern us here.³

¹ Engidu is now considered a more correct reading than Eabani.

² Schrader, *Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek*, 1878, vol. vi, p. 127.

³ See Frazer’s *Golden Bough*, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, and the numerous articles in Hastings’ *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, under such headings as “Babylonians and Assyrians,” “Heroes and Hero Gods,” “Tammuz,” “Ishtar,” etc.

The effects of Ishtar's descent to Sheol in search of her youthful lover have, however, direct bearing upon our inquiry.

As soon as Ishtar had gone on her annual journey to the underworld, copulation in men and animals ceased. Consequently some remedy had to be sought in order to circumvent such a disastrous state of affairs. Thus arose the necessity for women to play her part as goddess of sexual love and fertility ; and to fill this office the " sacred prostitute " was created.

This applies only to the Ishtar cult and not to those cases where priestesses were found in temples dedicated to other deities.

We have seen that in the case of Marduk the god was credited with all human attributes and passions.

To return to Gilgamesh, we find Ishtar very wroth at having her offers of love refused. She sent a bull to kill him, but he destroyed it. Thereupon Ishtar gathered together all her temple women and harlots, and made great outcry and lamentation.¹

The remaining tablets, containing, among other incidents, the story of the Deluge, do not concern us.

We have seen that at this early period sacred prostitution was fully established and entered into the literature and mythology of the country. Under the male deity the temple harlot plays the part of concubine, while under the female deity she was a kind of " understudy," always ready to symbolise by her action the purpose of the great mother-goddess.

Without going farther into the cult of Ishtar it will serve our purpose better to move slowly westwards, noting the spread of the worship of a goddess of love and fertility which clearly resembled that of Ishtar. We must not necessarily conclude that whenever we find a mother-goddess it is merely Ishtar transplanted to new soil and given a new name. It seems to be more probable, anyhow in several cases, that local female deities acquired fresh attributes from Ishtar which occasionally became the most prominent features of the cult.

¹ Schrader, *Keilins. Biblio.*, vol. vi, p. 86 *et seq.*

Syria, Phœnicia, Canaan, etc.

In Syria the great mother-goddess was known by the name of Attar or Athar, while at the sacred city of Hierapolis (the modern Membij) in the Lebanon she was called Atargatis, a word compounded out of 'Atar and 'Ate, two well-known Syrian deities. The full etymology of these names has been discussed by L. B. Paton,¹ who gives a large number of useful references.

Our information on the worship at Hierapolis is mainly derived from Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, which is considered one of his earliest works, probably written about A.D. 150. Recent researches in Asia Minor and Northern Syria, largely numismatic, show that at the height of the Hittite domination in the fourteenth century B.C. the chief religious cult was very similar to that described by Lucian. There were, however, certain differences. The Hittites worshipped a mated pair, a bull god and a lion goddess, while in later days it was the mother-goddess who became prominent, representing fertility, and (in Phœnicia) the goddess who presided over human birth. Religion in the East adapted itself to changing conditions and the immediate needs of the community.

Thus in Syria the climate and temperament of the people tended to develop the sensuous aspect of the goddess. As the cult became more popular, the rites and festivals became more orgiastic in character. The phallic nature of some of the rites at Hierapolis is described by Lucian (28), where he speaks of two huge phalli, thirty fathoms high, which stood at the door of the temple. Twice every year a man (probably one of the castrated *Galli*) climbed to the summit from the inside, where he was supposed to hold converse with the gods to ensure the prosperity and fertility of the land.

Speaking of the temple at Byblos, Lucian states that after the termination of the mourning for the loss of Adonis (*cf.* the Tammuz myth) the men shave their heads and the women who refuse to submit to a similar treatment have to prostitute themselves for a whole day in the temple. The proceeds of their hire paid for a sacrifice to the mother-goddess. The fact that the women were only allowed to be hired by strangers forms a curious relic of the system of exogamy.

¹ Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. ii, p. 164 *et seq.*, art. "Atargatis."

Evidence seems to make it practically certain that there was a permanent, besides a temporary, system of religious prostitution at the temples, and Eusebius tells us that matrons as well as maids served the goddess in this manner. Lucian shows that the system of enforced temporary prostitution had been modified, and that a modest woman might substitute a portion of her hair instead of her person. This fact is interesting as showing the belief in the hair possessing a large and important percentage of the owner's personality. Readers will remember the care with which the savage hides or destroys his hair, nail-clippings, etc., lest an enemy get possession of them and work him harm through their means.

By this passage in Lucian we see that at Byblos (Gebal) the sacrifice of chastity was looked upon as the most personal, and therefore most important, offering a woman could make. If she did not give this, then the next best thing—her hair—would be accepted. No such substitution, however, appears to have been allowed in former days—*i.e.* before Lucian's time.

The name given to the great mother-goddess in Phœnicia, Canaan, Paphos, Cyprus, etc., was Ashtart, Ashtoreth or Astarte. Her attributes closely resemble those of Ishtar, for we find her represented as a goddess of sexual love, maternity, fertility and war. Both the Greeks and Phœnicians identified her with Aphrodite, thus showing evidence of her sexual character. As is only natural, the Phœnicians carried this worship into their colonies, and so we read in Herodotus (i, 199), Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.*, ii), Justin (xviii, 5, 4) and Athenæus (xii, 2) of sacred prostitution closely resembling that in Syria. Special mention is made of male prostitutes at the temple of Kition in Cyprus. They are the same as the *kādhēsh* of Deut. xxiii, 18, 19.

Phœnician inscriptions give evidence of a temple of Ash-tart at Eryx in Sicily, while along the coast of North Africa the Semitic mother-goddess became very popular under the names of Ashtart and Tanith.

St Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, ii, 4) gives some account of the worship which, when stripped of its oratorical vagueness, points to a system of temporary *hierodouloi*, very similar to that described by Lucian.

In Arabia the mother-goddess was Al-Lāt or Al-'Uzzā, whose worship was accompanied by the temporary practice

of sacred prostitution. It would be superfluous to magnify examples.

We have seen that the practice spread all over Western Asia and into Europe and Africa. Egypt we have not discussed, but the numerous references given by G. A. Barton in his article, "Hierodouloi," in *Hastings' Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. vi, pp. 675-676, show that the system can be clearly traced, especially at Thebes.

To sum up our evidence from Western Asia, there appear to be several reasons to which the institution of sacred prostitution owes its origin:

1. The male deity needed concubines like any mortal, thus women imitated at the temples their divine duties.

2. The female deity, being a goddess of fertility, had under her special care the fruitfulness of vegetation as well as of the animal world. Thus she endeavours to hasten on the return of spring. It is only natural that at her temples women should assist in this great work of procreation, chiefly by imitating the functions necessary to procreate. When the goddess was absent in search of spring, the whole duties of the cult would fall on her mortal votaries.

3. Sacrifices of as important and personal nature as possible would be acceptable to such a goddess, and the hopes of prosperity in the land would be increased.

When human passions enter so largely into a ritual, and when the worshippers and ministrants of the goddess are of an excitable and highly temperamental nature, and finally when one takes into account such factors as climate and environment, it is not surprising that at times the religious side of the ritual would play but a minor part. This happened in India and also in Western Asia, and evidence shows the same thing to have occurred both in ancient Central America and Western Africa.

West Africa

Before comparing the above with our Indian data, reference might suitably be made to the sacred men and women in West Africa.

Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast and the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast is to be found

a system of sacred prostitution very similar to that which we have already considered. The subject was mentioned by Burton¹ and has since been fully discussed by Ellis,² and as Frazer has quoted so largely from him,³ it will not be necessary to give any detailed description here.

Two quotations will be sufficient :

" Young people of either sex, dedicated or affiliated to a god, are termed *kosio*, from *kono*, 'unfruitful,' because a child dedicated to a god passes into his service and is practically lost to his parents, and *si*, 'to run away.' As the females become the 'wives' of the god to whom they are dedicated, the termination *si* in *vödu-si* has been translated 'wife' by some Europeans ; but it is never used in the general acceptance of that term, being entirely restricted to persons consecrated to the gods. The chief business of the female *kosi* is prostitution, and in every town there is at least one institution in which the best-looking girls, between ten and twelve years of age, are received. Here they remain for three years, learning the chants and dances peculiar to the worship of the gods, and prostituting themselves to the priests and inmates of the male seminaries ; and at the termination of their novitiate they become public prostitutes. This condition, however, is not regarded as one for reproach ; they are considered to be married to the god, and their excesses are supposed to be caused and directed by him. Properly speaking, their libertinage should be confined to the male worshippers at the temple of the god, but practically it is indiscriminate. Children who are born from such unions belong to the god."

Just as in India, these women are not allowed to marry a mortal husband. On page 148 of the same work Ellis says :

" The female *kosio* of Dañh-gbi, or Dañh-sio, that is, the wives, priestesses, and temple prostitutes of Dañh-gbi, the python-god, have their own organisation. Generally they live together in a group of houses or huts inclosed by a fence, and in these inclosures the novices undergo their three years of initiation. Most new members are obtained by the

¹ *A Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii, p. 155.

² A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, London, 1890, p. 140 *et seq.*; and *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, London, 1887, pp. 120-138.

³ *Golden Bough, Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, vol. i, pp. 65-70.

affiliation of young girls; but any woman whatever, married or single, slave or free, by publicly simulating possession, and uttering the conventional cries recognised as indicative of possession by the god, can at once join the body, and be admitted to the habitations of the order. The person of a woman who was joined in this manner is inviolable, and during the period of her novitiate she is forbidden, if single, to enter the house of her parents, and, if married, that of her husband. This inviolability, while it gives women opportunities of gratifying an illicit passion, at the same time serves occasionally to save the persecuted slave, or neglected wife, from the ill treatment of the lord and master; for she has only to go through the conventional form of possession and an asylum is assured."

The reader will, I think, notice a closer relationship to the customs of West Africa in India than in Western Asia, but we must remember that we have much more evidence on such customs in India and Africa than in Babylonia, Syria and Phoenicia. In Western Asia we have no account of the initiation and duties taught to the new votary, so we cannot make sufficiently close comparisons.

There are undoubtedly instances of the past existence of somewhat similar institutions to those we have been considering in other parts of the world—such as Peru, Mexico, Borneo, Japan, etc. The evidence has been collected, and references given, by John Main in "his" *Religious Chastity*, New York, 1913, pp. 136-181.

Now that we have considered our subject in countries other than India we feel in a better position to theorise as to the origin of the institution of the *dēva-dāsi*.

The basis on which all such systems rest seems to be the natural desire to ensure fertility in both the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Environment, changing sentiment, temperament and religious feeling account for the particular channel into which such a system, touching the human passions so closely, has run.

Different conditions may produce quite different schools of thought in exactly the same place. Old customs may be followed by modern people with little idea of why they follow them.

In India the system of caste, the status of women, *suttee*, *śrāddha* and numerous other customs already mentioned

in the *Ocean of Story* have all left their mark on such an institution as that of the *dēva-dāstī*.

More than this it is impossible to say. Much research still remains to be done on this highly important anthropological problem.

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